INTERACTION AND CHANGE:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF A MENNONITE HOMESTEAD IN CENTRAL SASKATCHEWAN

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Abstract

This archaeological study focusses on a Mennonite homestead found in central Saskatchewan. The homestead, FbNn-14, had three different phases of occupation and/or ownership. The first was the original homesteader, Henrich Dueck and his family, who lived on the homestead from 1907-1922. The homestead was again occupied by the Janzen family from 1926-1936. Lastly in 1945 J. B. Guenther and John W. Friesen owned the homestead until 1950 when the homestead and surrounding lands were turned into a community pasture.

The transition of FbNn-14 into a community pasture saw the contents of the household and other structures moved into one depression feature. Through an artifact analysis it was determined that each of the three periods of ownership on the site had an impact on the archaeological assemblage. FbNn-14 represented the use of one homestead by three different sets of Mennonite owners in the early twentieth century.

The main objective of the thesis was to achieve an understanding of Mennonite consumption patterns associated with FbNn-14. This study was undertaken by examining Mennonite practices such as the maintenance of social ties, interaction with Anglo-Canadian society, and childhood raising practises. The results of this examination were used to interpret the archaeological material of FbNn-14. The artifacts that received special attention in this analysis were tea wares, artifacts that demonstrated new technology, and mass produced child toys. All of these items showed the extent to which Mennonites at FbNn-14 interacted with the surrounding Anglo-Canadian society and were affected by it.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Western Canada was largely settled through the process of homesteading, making homesteads important to understand Saskatchewan's foundations. The initiation of a homestead on the Saskatchewan prairies for many immigrants was difficult due to high emotional, psychological, monetary and physical costs. Through these immigrants' successes and struggles, Saskatchewan developed into a province with a dynamic society. Through the analysis of the archaeological remains of a homestead, aspects of the lives of these original inhabitants can be reconstructed.

One of the first settler groups to homestead the modern-day province of Saskatchewan was the Mennonites. The Mennonites, in this thesis, are defined as an ethnoreligious group of both Dutch and German background that follow the teachings of Menno Simons, an Anabaptist preacher (Lichdi 2006). On many occasions since the Mennonites formed a distinct religious community they have been forced to move. External forces such as religious and cultural persecution initiated these moves due to their pacifism and their belief in being separate from secular governments. Eventually, in the 1870s, religious persecution across Europe caused many Mennonites to make Manitoba their home due to the availability of land and the extensive promises made to them by the Canadian government (Epp 1974). In the early 1890s many Mennonites from the overcrowded Manitoba reserves moved to the newly established Hague-Osler Reserve in what is today the province of Saskatchewan (Doell 1995). The archaeological site of focus in this thesis is FbNn-14, a homestead that was a part of this movement of Mennonites into Saskatchewan.

FbNn-14 was inhabited through the first part of the twentieth century by three different Mennonite settlers and/or owners (Tax Roll 2007). An in-depth analysis of the artifacts will be performed to understand each of the different phases of occupation separately. Even if the different inhabitants of the site cannot be individually identified, the occupants were from the same ethnoreligious group with similar habits and purchasing patterns. Therefore, the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage from FbNn-14 will allow a glimpse into the Mennonite experience in early twentieth century Canada.

The early twentieth century was a period of great change in technology, health care, and transportation amongst other things. Well-known historical events shaped the Saskatchewan prairies during this time period, such as World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and extensive droughts in the Prairies in the 1930s. These significant historical events affected the inhabitants of the FbNn-14 to varying degrees. For example, the anti-German sentiment in Saskatchewan caused all non-English schools to close forced the Mennonites to lose their separate schooling system (Epp 1974:333-353). Through a focused archaeological study of a specific ethnoreligious group, a greater understanding of life on Saskatchewan prairies within the early twentieth century will be obtained.

1.2 A Note about the Nature of Archaeological Deposits

Archaeological assemblages, by nature, are a static compilation of artifacts that were generated through dynamic natural and cultural processes. To tease out these different processes at work in a static archaeological assemblage, a nuanced understanding of the past context must be achieved. This will be actualized in this thesis by an understanding of both the Mennonites and their habits which can be observed through the archaeological assemblage.

Purchasing patterns as seen throughout the FbNn-14 assemblage will be analyzed through the framework of consumption. Consumption is an intrinsic part of Historical Archaeology since archaeologists often study mass produced material culture and the greater market economy. This allows the archaeologist to interpret why a family purchased certain items, the reasons for which are complex and varied. They may be influenced by peer groups, cultural tradition, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, marketing, availability, affordability, fashion, meaning, and number of individuals in household (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy 1996; Henry 1991; Majewski and Schiffer

2009; Wurst and McGuire 1999:193). Therefore, consumption cannot be studied in isolation, since other parts of an individual's identity have an impact on their consumption patterns.

1.3 Focus of Research

The main object of this thesis is to understand why specific items in the assemblage are found and to understand their significance to the inhabitants of FbNn-14. The analysis will shed some light on FbNn-14, the Mennonites who lived there, and their interaction with the Anglo-Canadian society at large. The Mennonites' ethnoreligious beliefs indicate that they wanted to be separate from secular authority yet they relied on the external society for mass produced goods that made up their everyday household items. The following questions will address the balance between self-reliance and influence of external governance, as well as the importance of mass produced goods to Mennonites:

1) Were the Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 truly separated from the larger Anglo-Canadian society? What technology is represented in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage? What mass produced goods are found in the assemblage and what is their significance?
2) How did the Mennonites of FbNn-14 uphold their cultural ties in the Mennonite community in Saskatchewan and is this seen at FbNn-14 through the artifacts?
3) Is there evidence for children in the FbNn-14 homestead based on the artifacts? If so, what toys are present and what does this illuminate about Mennonite child raising practices?

1.4 Organizational Summary

This thesis consists of eight chapters including the introductory one. There are also four appendices included at the end of the thesis, which contain supporting and reference data.

Chapter 2 will discuss Mennonite history from the formation of the Mennonites as an Anabaptist sect to their eventual movement to Canada. The religious beliefs of the Mennonites also will be summarized. The movement of the Mennonites in Europe and their formation as a unique cultural group and then their immigration to Canada, with a focus on Manitoba then

Saskatchewan, will round out the discussion. Within the context of Saskatchewan, the occupational history of the homestead at FbNn-14 will be discussed in detail.

Chapter 3 will discuss the theoretical background for the analysis of the archaeological material. The chapter will focus on consumption theory and serve as a framework through which the other theories can be utilized. The supplemental theories relate to the topics of ethnicity, gender, childhood, household cycles, and world markets. Mennonite cultural practices in relation to these topics will be discussed.

Chapter 4 consists of the excavation history of FbNn-14 and an analysis of the artifacts. The stages of the laboratory process will be detailed. The artifacts were analyzed and categorized in the historical archaeological system of activity groups, to facilitate easier discussion of the artifacts. Important or unique artifacts will be highlighted.

Chapter 5 will focus on ceramics as these are one of the most studied and informative material types in archaeology. The discussion will revolve around ceramic patterns. Patterns of many components will be discussed, as well as more unique items, to understand the importance of the decorated items in the FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage. The prevalence of tea ware is elaborated in in this chapter.

In Chapter 6, maker's marks and other diagnostic artifact information in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage will be analysed to obtain a more detailed understanding of the site's occupation history. Where the artifacts are from and the dates of the artifacts are of importance to placing artifacts in different site occupations. The artifacts that can be connected to specific owners will be discussed as well.

Chapter 7 deals with interpretation of the results of the analysis conducted on the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage. Three concepts will be discussed in detail in this chapter. The first is the relationship of mass produced products and self-reliance attitudes to understand how the Mennonites interacted in the national and international markets. The second is the importance of tea ware in the FbNn-14 assemblage. The third section is an analysis of childhood toys to understand their role for teaching skills and values to the next generation of Mennonites.

Chapter 8 consists of the conclusion and the contribution that this research makes for understanding Mennonite settlement in Western Canada and furthering the study of this ethnoreligious group. Future directions for research are also suggested.

Chapter 2
Mennonite History and Previous Archaeological Study

2.1 Introduction

After the purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869 the Dominion of Canada had millions of acres of land to settle. There was an urgency to settle the land to ensure that the United States of America would not encroach on the territory (Schroeder 1990; Waiser 2005). Eventually, the land was surveyed and made available to homesteaders. To settle the land, the government of Canada actively encouraged many distinct ethnoreligious groups to settle the prairies. One of the first groups to come in large numbers to settle in the Canadian Prairies were the Mennonites, first arriving in 1874 (Schroeder 1990).

The Mennonites first settled on two reserves in Manitoba that were granted to them by the Government of Canada. Later, the Mennonites recieved two more land reserves in Saskatchewan (Lehr and Yossi 1999). Canada became a home for the Mennonites; for some it was a permanent home and others a more temporary one. Today, many Mennonites in Canada live in the western provinces due to the immigration that took place at the end of the nineteenth century (Driedger 1999).

Who are the Mennonites? Today, the Mennonites self-identify as an ethnoreligious group (Anderson 2013). In the sixteenth century, their religion was based on beliefs different from the larger Christian groups that surrounded them causing their persecution and relocation. The treatment of the Mennonites by the surrounding society, paired with their desire to form independent communities, caused them to develop distinct cultural practices (Sawatzky 2005). The Mennonite ethnoreligious identity emphasizes a commonality of language and religious beliefs as well as culture. Although there is a cultural similarity in Mennonite communities, there

is a wide range of personal experiences among those who immigrated and/or lived in Canada that must be acknowledged (Epp 2008). The discussion below outlines a history of the forming of the Mennonites as an ethnoreligious group and then settlement in Saskatchewan.

2.2 Mennonite History

2.2.1 Formation and Religious Beliefs

The Mennonites originated from a central European religious reformist movement in called the Anabaptists, who held differing opinions from the state religions at the time. The founding ideal, which gave them the name Anabaptists, was their practice of performing adult baptism or rebaptising individuals once they became Anabaptists. The practise of adult baptism very different from the Lutheran and the Catholic tradition of infant baptism (Dyck 1981). The Anabaptists believed that an infant had not committed any sins that needed to be forgiven. Nor was an infant capable in choosing to follow Jesus, which the Anabaptists believed was necessary for baptism and a true life of faith (Dyck 1981; Schroeder 1990).

In January of 1535, Menno Simons, a Roman Catholic priest in the Netherlands, was rebaptised by the Anabaptists. After a year of reflection, he started his public life as an Anabaptist leader in 1536 by leaving the Catholic Church and beginning to preach Anabaptist teachings (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974). He became an influential writer, preacher, and speaker who cemented the beliefs of the Anabaptists. He travelled in the Netherlands and Germany spreading his teachings and justifying his beliefs (Dyck 1981). Many early leaders of the Anabaptists movement were killed as heretics before Menno Simon began preaching. Since Menno Simon's prolific and sage leadership came at a time of leadership crisis in the Anabaptist movement he is credited with saving it (Dyck 1981). One group of Anabaptists who followed Menno Simons' teachings came to be known as the Mennonites.

The primary Mennonite ideals of their faith were laid out in the sixteenth century, largely by Menno Simmons, and have changed little since. The Mennonites believed in total authority of the Bible and therefore the Mennonites could not support or swear oaths to secular governments (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974; Schroeder 1990). The ideal was to live in a community that was separate from the rest of society. In addition, the selection of religious leaders was undertaken by those within the church and not a secular authority (Dyck 1981; Urry 2006). The responsibility of the

church was to ensure a high morality in the group. If an individual chose to live in ungodly ways, then they were shunned until they corrected their behaviour or if necessary banned from the group (Dyck 1981). This practice of shunning meant that the community could not be in contact with the reprimanded individual in any circumstance until they reconciled with the church.

The last crucial religious belief to the Mennonites was love for humanity. Although there were the brief associations with violence early in their history, many Anabaptists became strict pacifists (Urry 2006). "…Loving concern for persons and the refusal to harm them intentionally" (Dyck 1981:140) became the belief of the Mennonites. Therefore, they would withdraw from violent conflict and even go as far as to not defend themselves. With this love for humanity also came the need to provide their local community and others in the world (Peters 1985). Since God was the one who granted them material possessions, Mennonites believed that they must share them with the less fortunate. In this way, one was not connected to his/her material possessions but their accumulation was a means to live in the service of others (Dyck 1981).

2.2.2 Relocation in Europe

In 1534, the Anabaptists established a fundamental theocracy in Münster, Germany (Sawatzky 2005:32). Upon the Anabaptists taking procession of the city, many Lutherans and Catholics were either expelled from the city or forcibly converted (McDaniel 2007:63). The terrifying stories coming from the city generated hostility and resulted in the city being recaptured in June 1535 by the surrounding Catholic and Lutheran lords (McDaniel 2007:63). This experience of a failed governing effort by the Anabaptists caused fear in the non-Anabaptist population of Europe. Many governments ensured that the Anabaptists would not get possession of a city again by implementing a strict persecution strategy.

Anyone who converted to the Mennonite religion was persecuted by the local authorities in causing the Mennonites to move to locations where they could practice their new-found faith safely. Tensions within the Mennonite community began due to individuals of different cultural backgrounds living in the same communities and sharing churches and preachers (Epp 1974). The movement of Flemish Mennonites into Frisian Mennonite territory, for instance, caused a Flemish preacher to be excluded from speaking in the churches (Dyck 1981). Leading to a conflict that was not properly resolved, dividing the Mennonite church into two different ethnoreligious groups, the Frisian and the Flemish Mennonites (Dyck 1981; Hague-Osler

Reserve Book Committee 1995). This conflict persisted for 200 years after which the Frisian and Flemish Mennonites returned to full communion (Dyck 2009). This conflict and fracturing is an example of a concept called the 'Anabaptist sickness' (Schroeder 1990), where a disagreement between two church leaders can lead to the creation of a new church, that is no longer associated with the previous church.

With each relocation, Mennonite communities often left behind some of their brethren, who continued to live in the villages that they knew and had made their home. The Mennonites initial settlements were in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands (Dyck 1981). Each of these areas was hostile towards the beliefs of the Mennonites, causing Mennonite communities to search for new places to live in peace. The Mennonites from Germany and the Netherlands, also known as the Dutch-German Mennonites, started moving into the Vistula Delta region, under the protection of King Sigismund II of Poland in the 1530s (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974; Schroeder 1990). They set about reclaiming marsh land for agricultural use and were also given rights to their own religion and schools (Schoroeder 1990). They became successful and wealthy farmers with huge tracts of land that were rented from the lords (Sawatzky 2005). Eventually, the Mennonites could buy land and they became even wealthier.

It was here, in the Vistula Delta settlement, that the Mennonite groups became culturally homogenous due to a law prevented them from converting others to their faith (Lichdi 2006). Thus, the Mennonites adopted cultural and linguistic practises that solidified their ethnoreligious identify. For example, within the Vistula Delta, the simple architecture and decoration of Mennonite churches became the standard for their places of worship (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The Mennonites began to adopt High German for public communication, such as preaching and publication, while Low German was spoken in the household (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995; Sawatzky 2005). The Mennonite housebarn plan, with the barn behind the living quarters, running perpendicular to the street, and became the standard for less wealthy Mennonites in the Vistula Delta region. Thus, a unique house style that created a part of their ethnic identity, was a combination of house styles from their mixed cultural background and the local area (Sawatsky 2005).

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Fredrick II, the Prussian king who ruled the Vistula Delta, saw the pacifists as a hindrance due to their refusal of military service. To ensure that the Mennonites were helpful to his war efforts, Fredrick II required them to pay large taxes and

barred them from purchasing new land (Schroeder 1990). Since the Vistula Delta was now a heavily settled area, and Mennonites were no longer able to purchase land, many moved away to find work (Sawatzky 2005). The obvious result was that these individuals were separated from their community thus making it harder for them to adhere to their beliefs such as exclusion from the outside world, pacifism, and no swearing of oaths to secular authorities.

During the mid-eighteenth century, Catherine the Great of Russia was looking for individuals to settle her recently acquired territory, New Russia (now modern day Ukraine). She sent out a decree seeking different Germanic religious groups to immigrate and establish their own settlements. Immigrants were permitted to maintain their own governments, schools, and religions, and were free from taxes for 10 years (Dyck 1981). This offer was specifically extended to the Mennonites in 1786 and signed two years later (Dyck 1981; Klassen 2006). They sent a delegation to inspect the land that they were being offered and to ensure that they were exempted from military service (Anderson 2013; Dyck 1981). The good quality land was situated in an isolated part of the country.

The move to New Russia gave the Mennonites the freedom once again to live in a distinctive ethnoreligious community, or colonies, as they came to be known in New Russia. The first colony, founded in 1788 by 670 poor Mennonite families was the Chortitza or the Old Colony (Epp 1974; Dyck 1981; Peters 1985). The Molotschna Colony was founded the next year and eventually came to hold 1200 Mennonite families who were better educated and of higher status (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974). More immigrants from Prussia founded another two colonies: the Am Trakt Colony founded in 1853 and the Alexandertal Colony in 1859. These colonies were granted fewer rights than the first two colonies; these newer colonies were now subject to a shortened exemption from military service and were required to purchase the land on which the colony was established (Dyck 1981).

A drawback for the colonies that were established in New Russia was the condition, set out by the Russian government, that lands could not be divided (Klassen 2006). Because of the large number of children in each family, Mennonites soon found that a large section of their population were landless, second-tier citizens (Dyck 1981; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). To remedy this situation, Mennonite communities created the *waisenamt* to insure all children were compensated in land transfers after the death of a father (Peters 1985). The *waisenamt* existed in each of the colonies independently and helped ensure that orphans and

widows were looked after in an equal and fair manner (Peters 1985). In some instances, the *waisenamt* functioned as a bank as well.

Another way that the Mennonites dealt with segments of their population becoming landless was by purchasing land to form daughter colonies (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974). This provided young couples and the landless an opportunity to possess their own land. For example, the Chortiza Colony set up two daughter colonies: the Bergthal Colony in 1862 and the Fuerstenland Colony in 1864 (Doerksen and Thiessen 2001; Dyck 1981; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The Chortiza, Bergthal, and to a lesser extent the Fuerstenland Colonies were the colonies that relocated to Canada in large numbers. The settlers brought the names of these colonies and the villages with them to Canada where these names were placed on the Canadian landscape.

The Mennonites further cemented their ethnoreligious identity in the New Russia colonies by adopting a common village plan. The layout of the village consisted of a *strassendorf* or a wide main road with housebarns positioned perpendicular to the road, on both sides (Epp 1974; Warkentin 1959). Surrounding each housebarn would be a small amount of acreage to keep a garden and some animals. Ideally a stream would be present on the house lot, giving each family easy access to water (Warkentin 1959). The arable land was divided up into narrow strips or *kugel* and randomly assigned to individuals (Warkentin 1959). These strips were intended to give access to a variety of resources, such as timber and farmland. In addition, a community pasture was held in common by the village to allow livestock of anyone in the colony to be kept together on good pastureland (Warkentin 1959). The village plan that was used in New Russia continued to be used in Manitoba when the Mennonites immigrated.

The Mennonites became quite wealthy during their time in Russia, with some individuals acquiring large amounts of property. They were seen as the ideal farmers through their innovative farming practices and the adoption of industrialized technologies (Sawatzky 2005). The prowess as successful farmers even saw the establishment of a program to teach the Jewish settlers, who had become their neighbours in New Russia, how to farm (Friesen 1999).

By the mid to late nineteenth century, however, the lifestyle that enabled the Mennonites to thrive was now under threat by “Russification,” a government nationalist agenda. This involved the implementation of the Russian language in schools and mandatory service in 1874 (Elias 2001; Francis 1955; Schroeder 1990; Senese 1999). In response, the Mennonites sent a

delegation to the Tsar, Alexander II, to ask for exemption from military service but the delegation failed due to the inability of the Mennonites to communicate in Russian (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974). Contemporaneously, other groups of people were moving into New Russia, so that the Mennonite colonies no longer enjoyed their isolation.

2.2.3 Move to Canada

In the early 1870s, the Canadian government sent a delegation to attract the Mennonites, known for their excellent farming skills, to settle in Manitoba (Epp 1974). The Mennonites looked across the ocean to North America for their next home. Between 1872 and 1873, a Mennonite delegation travelled to Manitoba and the United States to inspect the quality of land. In Canada, the Mennonites were guaranteed their own German schools, exemption from military service, a designated reserve for their colony in which they owned all quarter sections, and payment to assist with their travel to the reserve (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995; Schroeder 1990). These kinds of guarantees were not extended to Mennonites settling in the United States (Schroeder 1990). After considering their options for a move to North America, approximately 30% of the Mennonites in New Russia or 6,930 individuals decided to relocate within Canada (Dyck 1981; Schroeder 1900; Warkentin 1959).

2.2.3.1 Homestead Settlement in Canada

The offering of land for homesteading was the process by which the Canadian Government choose to settle the prairies or, more specifically, the area of land that would eventually become Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The information discussed below is the general process for homestead grants in Canada, but the requirements were slightly different across the country and over time. The information supplied here will be specific to Saskatchewan where site FbNn-14 is located.

To ready the land for settlement the land broken up into townships that consisted of 36 one mile by one mile lots. Each of these lots was divided into quarter sections of 160 acres or 48.56 hectares, the base amount of land given for a homestead (Saskatchewan Homestead Index 2018; Waiser 2005). Of the 36 one mile by one mile sections sixteen were saved for railways, two for schools, and two for the Hudson's Bay Company, leaving 16 for homestead settlement

(Schliehtman 2007; Waiser 2005). Therefore, less than half of the land in Saskatchewan was reserved for homestead settlement.

To apply for a homestead the head of the household had to pay $10 for the ability to start a homestead contract (Saskatchewan Homestead Index 2018; Waiser 2005; 2007). The head of the household and his family then had to build a house, live on the land for at least six months, and clear at least thirty acres in the next three years to be able to get permanent ownership of the land (Saskatchewan Homestead Index 2018; Waiser 2005; 2007). The clearing of the land took a large of amount of physical energy and time. To begin farming and cultivating the land, capital was needed to buy equipment, material, seed and livestock. The cost of immigrating to Canada and getting land to homestead forced members of the family to find external work to be able to afford homestead improvements (Waiser 2007). The process of setting up a new life on the land was emotionally difficult because immigrants had to adapt to a new environment, location, and in some cases language. Even though the cost, both physical and psychological, of starting a homestead were huge, immigrants came due to the availability of land and the hope for a better future.

There were also rewards for obtaining title or patent to one's original homestead. Through the process of pre-emption, homesteaders could purchase another quarter section at a price of three dollars per acre. For the homesteader to received the pre-emption patent, they had to cultivate another 15 acres of land and live on it for another three years (Waiser 2005). This system allowed the successful farmers to gain more land to expand their operation and utilize unused land.

2.2.3.2 Mennonite Settlements in Manitoba

The first group of Mennonites came to Manitoba in 1874, largely from the Bergthal colony in Russia (Warkentin 1959). These Mennonites were concerned with the preservation of their ethnoreligious heritage and their ability to live in an independent isolated community (Urry 2006). The Mennonites paid their way to Canada using *waisenamt* funds, a community welfare fund that every Mennonite paid into in Russia, as mentioned previously. Assess to this fund allowed every member, no matter their economic standing, to be able to relocate to Canada if they desired (Peters 1985; Schroeder 1990). Canadian governmental aid and a loan also helped the Mennonites get started on their new parcels of land (Epp 1974).

The first Reserve given to the Mennonites in Manitoba was on the east side of the Red River, south of Winnipeg. Known as the East Reserve, this land consisted of eight townships and eventually saw the establishment of 26 villages (Lawrence 2009). On arrival, however, the Mennonites discovered that half the land was unsuitable for agriculture because it was too wet (Lawrence 2009; Warkentin 1959). More land was granted to the Mennonites in the spring of 1875. They were granted 17 more townships on the west side of the Red River, just north of the international border with the United States (Lawrence 2009; Lehr and Yossi 1999). Ninety percent of the West Reserve was good agricultural land resulting in flourishing farm communities to be established (Lawrence 2009). The first settlers in the West Reserve were primarily from the daughter colonies of Fuerstenland and Bergthal in New Russia. Some individuals from the mother colony, Chortiza, also made the West Reserve their new home (Epp 1974). About half of the settlers from the Manitoba East Reserve also moved south to the Western Reserve in 1876 to take advantage of the better agricultural land (Dyck 2001; Warkentin 1959).

The Canadian land settlement framework was different from that in New Russia. The Canadian government required that settlers live on their individual quarter sections (Section 2.2.3.1; Waiser 2007). The Mennonite settlers, in contrast, established their first village illegally since they built their houses in their New Russian village plan. Since the Mennonite Church authorities exercised power over their congregations on the arrival in Canada, they could influence the decision to pool their land to allow villages to be established like those in Russia (Lehr and Yossi 1994). The leaders believed that the village plan allowed them to keep their cultural unity and not assimilate to the surrounding Anglo-Canadian culture (Sawatzky 2005; Urry 2006). The village plan also allowed them to follow Menno Simons' ideal of living in a community where the bible was the voice of authority. After a request to the Canadian government the Hamlet Clause was passed in 1876 allowing the Mennonites to remain within their villages (Lehr and Yossi 1994; 1999).

However, quite quickly after their settlement in Canada, the Mennonite communities began to experience internal tensions based on religious, educational, and farming conflicts. Thus, the villages began to break up in 1875 (Lawrence 2009). For example, the Bergthal Colony Mennonites wanted to live on their own homesteads because they saw the village system as

inefficient in Canada (Lawrence 2009). This trend continued until only the most conservative Mennonites remained in village settlements.

The traditional village system was not the most efficient way to farm on the Canadian prairies. Not every field had access to water so it was difficult to work with livestock in some fields. Some Mennonites had to bring water from the village, making the journeys to the fields more difficult (Warkentin 1959). In addition, the strips of land being farmed were slowly becoming narrower over time due to increasing amount of stones that were stacked to separate the fields from each other. After draft animals began to be replaced with more efficient machinery, the fields were typically too small to make the equipment practical (Warkentin 1959). In New Russia, most of the Mennonites took part in mixed farming while in Canada they participated primarily in grain farming (Lehr and Yossi 1999; Warkentin 1959). To complicate the situation, since all the agricultural resources were pooled, a bad farmer could bring down the agricultural yield and the subsequent profit, affecting the village finances (Warkentin 1959). Grain farming is more efficient in large, wide fields; the small strips of land were not practical for grain farming in Canada (Lehr and Yossi 1999; Warkentin 1959).

These were not the only issues that Mennonites faced in Canada. Of considerable importance was whether the Mennonites should have public schools and embrace English education or form their own private German schools (Epp 1974). A group from the Bergthal Colony wanted to live on individual homesteads and be a part of the public-school system in Manitoba (Dyck 1981). However, these ‘progressive’ ideas caused the Bergthal Colony church to divide because part of the church congregation did not want to embrace this new system (Dyck 1981). On the West Reserve the more conservative individuals from the Bergthal Colony split off to form Sommerfeld Church. On the East reserve the more conservative Bergthal individuals formed the Chortiza Church (Dyck 1981; Epp 1974). On the West Reserve the individual Chortitza and Fuerstenland colonies were a part of the Old Colony or Reinland Mennonite Church (Epp 1974). Once again, the Mennonites became very divided over what cultural ideals to retain and what change to embrace.

An example can be seen in the shifting domestic architecture in Manitoba. Between 1900-1925 the housebarn style was replaced with the house and a separate barn connected by a passageway (Sawatzky 2005). The houses were also rotated 90 degrees to run parallel to the street and not perpendicular, as had been the previous practice (Sawatzky 2005). The Mennonite

houses appeared more like the houses of their Anglo-Canadian neighbours. After 1925, Mennonites communities generally adopted a separated barn and house style (Sawatzky 2005). The interior space of housebarns also began to change by the 1930s when all previous household ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals, were moved to public locations (Sawatzky 2008).

The changing of the Mennonite house architecture to reflect Anglo-Canadian practice shows the influence of the dominant community on them. Yet this does not mean that the Mennonites assimilated into the greater society: rather they took elements and incorporated them into their ethnic identity (Sawatzky 2005). Nonetheless the break-up of the villages had many repercussions on Mennonite customs that used to take place in the home. Due to greater isolation, the houses took on a more private nature. The traditions continued, but where they happened changed because many Mennonites no longer lived within villages.

2.2.4 Mennonite History Summary

Each time that Mennonite groups relocated or factions formed, different stances on change arose. The more conservative orders were more likely to retain previous cultural traditions, reflected the architecture, cooking, traditional clothing, language, religious beliefs, farming practices, and resistance to the adopting of new technologies. 'Progressive' Mennonites however did not forget their previous practices. This observation is important from an archaeological perspective. The differential adoption and/or continuation of cultural practices would have had an impact on the material record that the Mennonites left behind.

2.3 Relocation to Saskatchewan

The East and the West Reserves in Manitoba were overpopulated by the end of the 1880s. As early as 1891 some individual Mennonites from Manitoba began obtaining homesteads in what would eventually become Saskatchewan (Doell 1999). Seeing this migration, the Mennonites formally requested that a Mennonite Reserve be established, and thus in 1895, the Hague-Osler Reserve was created in the South Saskatchewan River valley (Epp 1974). The initial Hague-Osler Reserve consisted of four townships around the town of Hague, Saskatchewan (Doell 1999). As more people moved into the area, the Mennonites pushed for extensions to their Reserve, which resulted in three more additions in 1898 (Doell 1999). The

first addition was a one township expansion of the original Reserve block that was granted in June 1898 (Doell 1999). The second addition was given in August 1898 when another five townships were added south of the original Reserve. The last extension to the Hague-Osler Reserve happened in October 1898 and consisted of 11 townships to the north of the original Reserve block (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). Therefore, in total the Mennonites received 21 townships in the South Saskatchewan River valley for their exclusive settlement. However, the Reserve did not limit the Mennonites to the area granted, individual families could apply for homesteads off Reserve but most Mennonites preferred to settle in the Reserve. This is an example of a gravitational settlement as demonstrated by Anderson (2013), that is when a group of people settle in close proximity to keep a cohesive community.

The Hague-Osler settlement was easy to access due to a railway line going through the area. This meant that as soon as the land was granted, settlers could move in with ease. The original Mennonite settlers on the Reserve were the Old Colony Mennonites from Manitoba. They spent the winter of 1891 living out of railway cars because they did not arrive in time to build houses before the winter (Epp 1982; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The next spring began the arrival of many denominations of Mennonites who began to farm the land. The largest group of settlers were Old Colony, Berthagler and Sommerfeld Mennonites from the East and West Reserves in Manitoba (Anderson 2013; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). Some settlers even came from the United States of America while others came from Ontario, where Mennonites lived in large numbers (Anderson 2013). A few individuals even came directly from Russia (Anderson 2013; Epp 1974). These individuals were representatives of a variety of different Mennonite religious denominations.

The migration into the Hague-Osler area was different than from the previous Mennonite migrations. The movement into Saskatchewan was undertaken by individuals themselves choosing to move to the area. Therefore, it was the decision of individual quarter sections owners what kind of settlement they wanted to create. The mandatory building of the family home on their quarter section contradicted some individuals' wish to live closer to each other. To solve this problem the Reserve was approved for the Hamlet Clause in 1899 (Doell 1999; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995; Lehr and Yossi 1994). However, the approval for the Hamlet clause was too late since many Mennonites had already decided to live on their own individual homesteads. Yet after the Hamlet Clause passed some Mennonites moved into village formats.

Thus, the range of settlement patterns in the Hague-Osler Reserve included traditional concentrated villages, four corner hamlets, and individual homesteads throughout a district with minimal centralization (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The adoption of a specific settlement type depended on when the homesteaders settled in the area, their personal preferences, and if the families knew each other. In total, 37 villages were established in the Hague-Osler Reserve.

There were also towns in the Hague-Osler Reserve where people of non-Mennonite origin lived, such as Hague, Aberdeen and Osler. With the railway going through these towns and the bustle of Saskatoon not that far away, the Mennonites did not live in complete isolation (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). These towns became the supply centres for the Mennonites and allowed for their interaction with the surrounding society. In the first half of the twentieth century, these towns even provided friendly competition for local sports teams (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995).

In 1903, the Sommerfeld Mennonites of the West Reserve in Manitoba asked the Government of Canada for another Reserve for their exclusive settlement. They were granted some land around Swift Current, Saskatchewan. Starting in 1903 American General Conference Mennonites joined the Sommerfeld Mennonites bringing with them more progressive religious ideals (Anderson 2013). The Mennonite Brethren soon followed them to the Swift Current Reserve in 1905 (Anderson 2013). The Old Colony Mennonites from Manitoba and the Hague-Osler Reserve eventually established a religious community here as well (Anderson 2013; Schroeder 1990).

2.4 Early Twentieth Century Life in Saskatchewan

With the rise of nativism in western Canada, many different groups who were once accepted and viewed as ideal citizens began to face discrimination (Palmer 1985). The Mennonites were one of the groups discriminated against due to their readily apparent differences and association with German culture. Not all of the Mennonites spoke English as they had private German schools to educate their children (Palmer 1985). Only a few Mennonites fought for Canada during the war due to their pacifist beliefs, leading to Anglo-Canadian society resentment for their lack of participation in the World War I effort (Epp 1974).

The persecution of the Mennonites became so extreme that at the end of World War I they were barred from further immigration to Canada (Senese 1999).

The need to assimilate those non-integrated ethnic groups within Canada became a great concern to Anglo-Canadians (Regeher 1983). In response, the provincial governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, between 1917-1919, implemented English language-only education coupled with a mandatory attendance policy (Epp 1982; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). Provincial governments could now close any school that was not public and did not meet their English language standards. Some Mennonites, particularly the Reinland Mennonites, felt betrayed since their German-language schools, granted to them upon immigration to Canada, were now revoked (Epp 1982).

Some Mennonites sent petitions to the government, yet nothing changed. Individual Mennonites felt that their language was directly tied to their religious beliefs and their ethnoreligious survival. Other Mennonites feared that English government schools would indoctrinate military imperialism in their children (Loewen 2013). Therefore, some Mennonites began to look for locations to which to immigrate. Delegates were sent from Manitoba, Swift Current, and the Hague-Osler Reserves to Brazil, Argentina, Mississippi, Quebec, Mexico and Paraguay (Epp 1982; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The initial migrations took place in 1922 to Chihuahua, Mexico (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). The Hague-Osler Reinlander Mennonites purchased their own land of 35,000 acres in the state of Durango (Epp 1982). The first group left in 1924, and by the end of the migration, 950 people or one quarter of the total Hague-Osler Reserve population had left (Epp 1982). Another group of Mennonites consisting of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Sommerfelder, the Manitoban Chortiza, and the Bergthaler of Saskatchewan decided to immigrate to Paraguay (Epp 1982; Rempel 2001; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). In Paraguay, the president passed a law giving Mennonites rights to educating their own (Hague-Osler Reserve Committee 1995). The immigration to Paraguay began in 1926 and continued until 1930 (Epp 1982). In total 11,000 people left the Hague-Osler Reserve between 1922 and 1930. The migration had two effects; it freed up land in the Reserve and led to the expansion of the Mennonite network in the Americas.

One of the big ramifications of the exodus of Mennonites from Canada was that communities and families were split up. As a result, the ability of traditional Mennonite villages

to function when half the inhabitants had left was circumscribed. At the same time the Mennonite community was less likely to come into conflict with he Canadian government because the more conservative part of the Mennonite community left Canada. Therefore, the migration of many conservative Mennonites out of Canada changed the Mennonite community in Canada.

In the mid-1920s the borders again opened to Mennonites coming in from Russia. Approximately 21,000 Mennonites, also known as the Russlanders, came to Canada as refugees and settled in every Canadian province from Ontario to British Columbia. The Bolshevik revolution had turned the land that the Mennonites inhabited into a war zone. Their homes were constantly raided, women were raped, and most men were imprisoned or killed (Dyck 1981; Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). To aid the Mennonites coming to Canada, the *Zentrale Mennonitische Immigranten Komittee* (ZMIK) or the Mennonite Central Committee was formed in 1923 in Rosthern, Saskatchewan by Dietrich H. Epp (Urry 2006). The goal of the ZMIK was to aid in the selling of land by people in Canada, Mennonite or not, and to help immigrating Mennonites to purchase this land. Another goal of the ZMIK was to give the Mennonites a centralized voice in Canada (Urry 2006).

The Mennonites coming from Russia tended to take up the homesteads that other Mennonites had left on their departure to Mexico (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). This wave of Mennonite immigrants brought different experiences with them that affected the everyday life of the Mennonites already in the Hague-Osler Reserve. The many single mother households changed the structure of Mennonite churches (Epp 1982; Epp 2000). Traditionally, Mennonite churches voting members were only male members of the church community. Yet half the Russlanders Mennonites consisted of female-run households where the woman was the main provider and protector for the family (Epp 2000:55). Thus, many women wanted more influence in their church and community but they were unable to get their opinions listened to within the traditionally male dominated church voting system. Eventually, by the mid-twentieth century women could vote in church council (Epp 2000:134-135).

The Mennonites endured through rough times in the 1920s and 1930s due to the decrease in grain price and lack of rainfall during the Great Depression and the ‘Dirty Thirties’. Many of the homesteads turned into dustbowls, causing some farmers to give up and move away while others persisted through the 1930s on their homesteads (Waiser 2005; Schlichtmann 2007).

Mennonites, in this time period, moved into different areas of not only the province, but of the country. They moved to Mullingar, Swan Plain, and Carrot River in Saskatchewan, the Peace River region in Alberta, or into British Columbia as well as into cities (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995). Many of the farms in more peripheral regions of Reserves were abandoned. Successful land owners with capital purchased these now abandoned lands and create larger farms. The creation of mega farms began the reorganization of farming which still shapes how the land is used today (Kennedy, personal communication 2015a; Schlichtmann 2007) Also with the increase in mechanization, more capital and land were needed to sustain farming (Loewen 2006; Owram 2007).

Since the Great Depression there have been many global movements of Mennonites, including European Mennonites moving to Canada after WWII, Canadian Mennonites moving to Central America and back again. There has also been extensive movement of Mennonites from Ontario to British Columbia and Mennonites moving to urban centres (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995; Epp 2008; Loewen 2002b; Regeher 1997). The Mennonite religious ideal of isolation in the modern world has been difficult to maintain and was often challenged by external pressures such as economic vicissitudes or changing governmental polices.

2.4.1 Commemoration of Mennonite Settlements in Canada

Since the 1950s, the Mennonites, have shown their connection to Canada by the commemoration of specific locations relating to their heritage. The presence of a Mennonite Heritage Village in Steinbeck, Manitoba and the Mennonite Heritage Museum in Rosthern, Saskatchewan demonstrates the Mennonites connection to these locations in Canada. In the Canadian Historic Sites Registry, 34 historic sites are associated with Mennonite history (Canadian Historic Places 2017). Also, the Mennonites, like other ethnoreligious groups in the Canadian prairies, have commemorated the place of their first settlement in the original East Reserve in Manitoba (Swyripa 2010).

2.5. Cultural Continuity and Technology Acceptance

The Mennonites were not allowed to proselytize in either Prussia or New Russia but they were tolerated in these countries due to their reputation as exemplary farmers (Lichdi 2006;

Klassen 2006). In contrast, their religious ideals were viewed as less than optimal due to their difference from the state religion. The Mennonites were forced to form insular communities that helped solidify the development of their unique religious identity and cultural *habitus*.

The historical geographical studies of Mennonite settlements in Canada have showed how the different nature of farming in Canada changed the Mennonite village, as mentioned previously (Warkentin1959). Mennonite Reserve communities have been compared to other ethnoreligious groups in the Canadian prairies, illuminating the force that reserves had on the continuation of their religious traditions (Lehr and Yossi 1994; 1999). The strong culture of the Mennonites' ethnoreligious identity can be tied to their initial settlement in isolated communities in Canada. Once settled in Canada, though, the isolated nature of the Mennonite communities was not sustainable. The Mennonites lived in close proximity and interacted with different groups who were not of the same ethnoreligious background, and this reality had a large impact on the nature of Mennonites in Canada. Also in Manitoba and Saskatchewan the Mennonite community interacted with regional centres that affected their cultural practices.

The Mennonites had shown a willingness to adapt or invent new agricultural techniques in Russia and this continued in Canada, allowing them to maintain a tradition of being successful farmers (Klassen 2006; Oliver and Edwald 2014). Not all new technology was accepted willingly. Rather, it was an area of debate about worldliness in the Mennonite community (Loewen 1999). Therefore, even though the Mennonites practiced separation from the world this world impacted them.

2.6 Scholarship on Mennonites and Homesteads in Canada

2.6.1 Studying Mennonite History

There have been numerous history books published by local historical committees about the Mennonite homesteading experience in Canada. These books vary in detail but some of the standard elements are maps of original homestead families, census information, lists of homestead reports, family histories, and village histories. They tend to be full of stories about the people who first settled in Canada, and they are mostly focused on big news events or village narratives. Local history books can be helpful to some degree, but they are often frustrating for

the archaeologist due to the lack of details about the contents of a house or when buildings were built on a property.

There have been numerous publications on Mennonite history in Manitoba. The topic of these books are settlements, villages and families. Census or passenger lists are helpful for researching movements of people (Dyck 1993; Dyck and Harmes 1998; 2006; Ens, Braun and Fast 2009). Detailed biographies about important individuals in the Mennonite community exist as well (Ens, Braun and Fast 2009; Ens, Peter and Hamm 2001). There are also extensive histories on specific Mennonites churches and the settlements tied to them (Ens, Peter, and Hamm 2001; Stoetz 2011). In every village, there were one or more Mennonite churches. Therefore, the settlement histories are told through either individual village histories or specific church sect histories. There is also an excellent village history entitled *Working Papers of the East Reserve Village Histories 1874-1910* which has incredible detail (Dyck 1990). Most of the books that are published by the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society and they tend to discuss detailed village histories. The information about Mennonite settlement in Manitoba is plentiful, discussed from a variety of angles giving depth to the topic area discussed. Yet, many of these books do not have indexes, making the books less useful for researchers.

A good Saskatchewan example of these local history books is *Mennonite Homesteads on the Hague-Osler Reserve 1891-1999* and *The Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995,* both published by the Hague-Osler Reserve Historical Book Committee in 1999 and 1995 respectively. These recourses are a huge help to a researcher and give a useful context of Mennonite settlement in Saskatchewan. Both books include a homestead access and village demographics. For each hamlet or village that existed in the Hague-Osler Reserve the layout, names of the individuals who lived there, brief history and map are included.

More scholarly histories covering the general story of Mennonites in Canada have been published. For example, *Mennonites in Canada* by Frank Epp (1974; 1982), was one of the first books to present a complete historical narrative of the Mennonites in Canada. The book focusses on the political events that took place in the Mennonite community and on the individuals who led the communities. Thus, the life of an average Mennonite is not discussed, nor are religious differences and minor disagreements in communities examined.

Recently, Marlene Epp's (2008) book entitled *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History* has increased knowledge about the various roles of Mennonite women. The shift over the last

century to a greater inclusion of Mennonite women in church practices in Canada is highlighted (Epp 2008). This book examines women's crucial roles in the home and the community. In addition, the more obscure roles of Mennonite women such as single women, preachers, deacons, labourers, to name a few, are discussed as well, resulting in a more nuanced approach to Mennonite women (Epp 2008). Epp's book on Mennonite women could be complemented by a study of Mennonite men's roles. Generally, history has focused on the prominent names in the Mennonite church, such as the bishops or church leaders who led immigrations, talked to the governments, or were preachers. Therefore, the daily life of an average Mennonite man is not known either.

2.6.2 Archaeological Study of the Mennonites

There are only a couple of archaeological reports discussing Mennonite households in Canada. I have been unable to find any other archaeological work in the United States or Europe with which to compare the study of Mennonites in Canada. The lack of comparative material has made it challenging with respect to the Saskatchewan archaeological example, the focus of this thesis. It is possible that comparative material is sitting in a graduate thesis that is not on ProQuest or in gray literature, making it difficult to access.

Since large groups of Mennonites settled in Ontario, one might expect to find numerous excavated sites whereas in fact there are only a couple of archaeological examples from Ontario. One was the Strickland site in modern day Markham which was not just a household but a small scale industrial site mostly owned by Mennonites. Heather Henderson's 1992 Master's thesis just refers to the Mennonites in passing noting that the Mennonites are a conservative and close knit group. The different occupations of the Strickland site were not stratigraphically separated making it difficult to look at Mennonite ethnoreligious identity here (Henderson 1992). The lack of in-depth discussion about the household material gives a very static picture of the Mennonites.

Archaeologists have conducted excavations around Joseph Schneider Haus in Kitchener, Ontario which is restored to 1856 (Region of Waterloo 2018). The Schneider house, which was built in 1816, is characterized by a Pennsylvania Dutch farm layout with many separate buildings, quite different from the Mennonite housebarn seen in western Canadian Mennonite settlements (Region of Waterloo 2018). The Schneiders are interesting due to the industrial nature of the original inhabitants who owned a sawmill and leased out part of the property to a

blacksmith. The archaeological study was done in 1984 to locate outbuildings and discern when certain outbuildings or features were built on the site (Burke, McLaughlin and Walker 2008). The researchers found wide variety of artifacts present in the site such as pig bones, pipes, alcohol bottles, medicine bottles, mason jars, and a marble (Burke, McLaughlin and Walker 2008). The progressive nature of the individuals who lived at the Schneider house is noted as well, and they are characterized as thrifty and practical (Burke, McLaughlin and Walker 2008). The presence of the then newly invented mason jar made in Hamilton is noted as an artifact that does not seem to fit in the assemblage (Burke, McLaughlin and Walker 2008). But the importance of being self sufficient and feeding your family through the winter demonstrates the usefulness of this artifact. There is barely a discussion of archaeology either in their 25th Anniversary publication or the website for the house (Burke, McLaughlin and Walker 2008; Region of Waterloo 2017b). The artifacts could help facilitate a deeper understanding of life on the homestead if the conclusions of the archaeological report had been more complete and detailed.

One of the first large scale archaeological studies that focused on Mennonites in Canada was conducted by Roland Sawatzky, who investigated built homes in three different Manitoba Mennonite villages to understand the connection between Mennonite *habitus* and architecture (Sawatzky 2005). This study will be discussed more in depth in Chapter 3. The study showed that each of these villages experienced change differently due to the unique attitudes of their preachers and elders. The shift in architecture in the Manitoba Mennonite villages from 1900 to ca.1930 illustrates a new emphasis on privacy exemplified by added rooms. Architecture of churches also changed as they became more commonly used for social services, and as village systems collapsed under the influence of the larger Anglo-Canadian society (Sawatzky 2005).

Roland Sawatzky and Andrea Dyck published *Collected History: Mennonite Heritage Village* in 2014 in commemoration of the Mennonite Heritage Village's 50 years of operation. The book uses objects to discuss the Russian Mennonite history, stories or important activities. This book demonstrates a more complex view on the Mennonites by delving into both the standard household items and the more unusual. For example, the elements discussed in the book are clocks, shoes, dresses, buildings, songbooks, pieces of art, cradles, and bank safes. The reliance on more photogenic items in the book means that only one artifact found in an archaeological context is discussed (Sawatzky and Dyck 2014). This book features curated items

like complete Mennonite furniture or clocks giving a fuller picture of the Mennonites than might an archaeological assemblage (Sawatzky and Dyck 2014). Even though this book does not discuss archaeology in any depth, it does give a more nuanced approach to the Mennonites, allowing a more detailed picture of their past to be represented.

Dr. Margaret Kennedy began the Homestead Archaeological Project (HAP) in 2006 to analyze the archaeological record of different ethnic groups to see how they adapted in western Canada (Kennedy in progress; 2015a). One of the homesteads studied was FbNn-11, a Mennonite homestead that was occupied from the 1910s-1920s. It was located in the Aberdeen Community Pasture that was formed after all the previous homesteaders had left in the 1930s following the Dirty Thirties (Kennedy in progress). As a part of this project Dr. Kennedy also conducted a series of interviews with elderly Mennonite women (Kennedy, personal communication 2015b). This study provided allowed a fuller picture of different cultural practices that might be represented in the archaeological record. In 2007, another Mennonite homestead, FbNn-14, occupied in the first of the twentieth century, was excavated as a part of the HAP project. The archaeological assemblage from the latter excavation project forms the basis of my thesis research.

2.6.3 Threatened Nature of Archaeological Homesteads

Homesteads are a threatened archaeological resource and should be studied to understand the foundations of the province of Saskatchewan. As the twentieth century progressed, more people began to move to cities as fewer people owned land or were needed to work the land. As a result, fewer individuals owning their family homestead. Environmental variability caused many individuals to lose their farms or fall into debt, making farming no longer a viable option (Kennedy 2007; Schlichtmann 2007). These farms were then sold to other farmers who needed more land to continue to profit from farming (Groover 2008; Kennedy 2015a). Due to the larger nature of the farms many farmers now own multiple original homesteads to which they do not feel an attachment (Kennedy 2015a). Also, homesteads with falling buildings, unfilled in-wells, or debris make the areas hazardous for anyone who goes near them causing many to be dismantled and removed. Safety concerns, in combination with turn-around space required for large equipment and lack of personal connection to the homesteads has led to the destruction of

many homesteads. Therefore, very few homesteads survive in an untouched nature and the only reason FbNn-14 survived at all was because it was in a community pasture.

2.7 The Homesteaders of FbNn-14

2.7.1 The Location of FbNn-14

FbNn-14 is the designation of the archaeological remains of the homestead that is the focus of this thesis. It is located east of Porter Lake in the Aberdeen Community pasture (Figure 2.1). The homestead is in quarter section SW4-38-02 W3. The farmstead is more elevated than the surrounding area which means water retention is low and the rocky soil present does not foster large crop yields. The known inhabitants of the site will be described within this chapter while a discussion of the archaeological features will be discussed in Chapter 4.

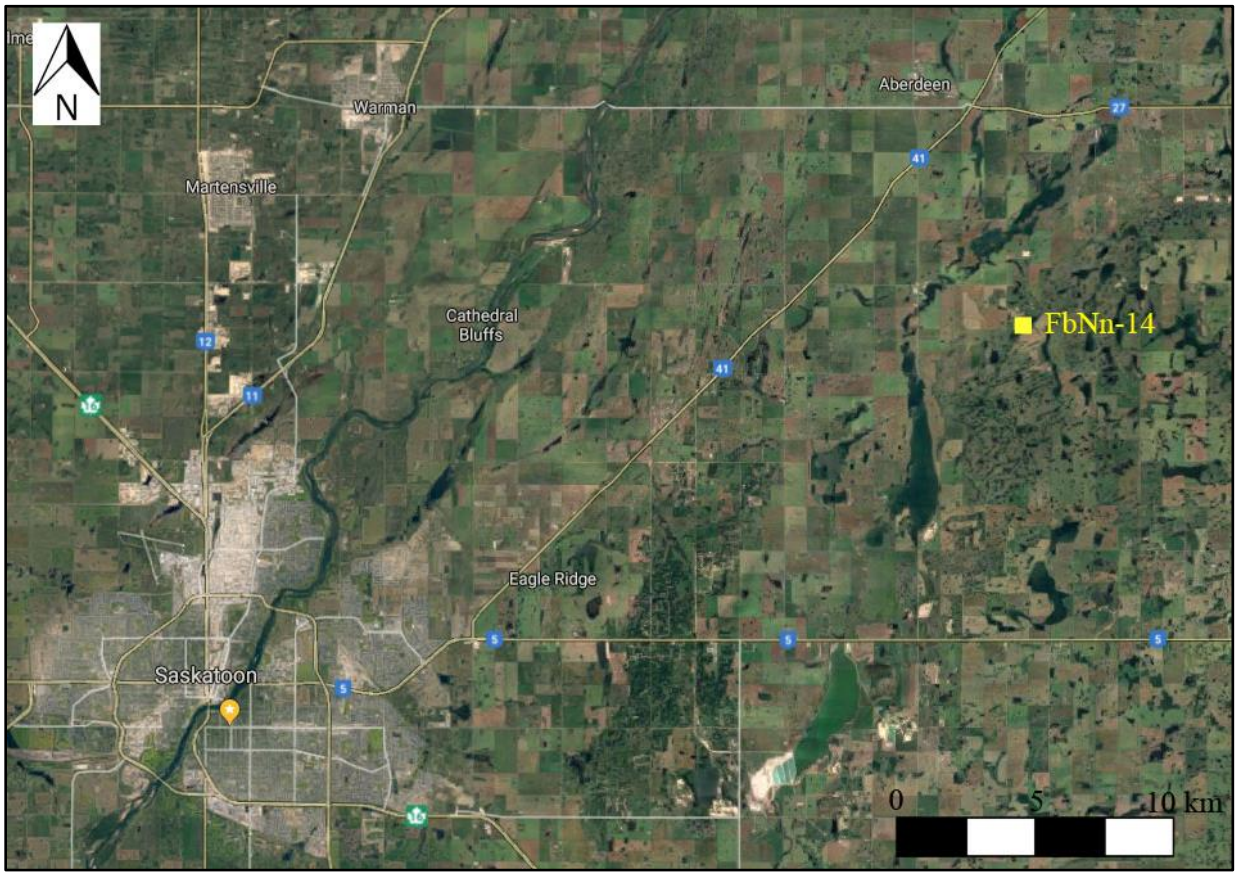

Figure 2.1: The location of FbNn-14 (Wight 2018 adapted from Google Maps based on Kennedy 2006).

The land on which FbNn-14 now sits was first homesteaded in 1907. In the next 43 years three different families or individuals used the property. The property was first owned by the Duecks, followed by the Janzens and lastly it was co-owned by J. B. Guenther and John W. Friesen. Each of these individuals owned the land and had different impacts on the site. In 1950 the Crown took possession of the property and turned it into a community pasture after this date.

2.7.2 The Dueck Family

Heinrich H. B. Dueck and Margaretha Harder Dueck and their eight children were the family who homesteaded the property in 1907 (Doell 1999). Heinrich Dueck was born on Dec. 11, 1867 while Margaretha was born on April 16th, 1864, both in Russia (Census of Canada 1921). The Deuck's children were Mary (1890), Henry (1891/1902) Anna (1893), Nettie (1896), Tena (1898/1907) John (1899), Frank (1901), Margaret (1904) (Census of Canada 1911; 1921; Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta 1916). There are many possible mistakes in the census records causing two birth years to be listed above for some of the children. The earliest year in both cases appears to be more appropriate. It is possible that the Deucks had difficultly communicating with the individual taking the census due to a language difference or for another unknown reason.

The Duecks obtained the homestead on July 6th, 1907 and the following year built a frame house (16 x 24 ft) on the land (Dominion Lands Branch 1910a). The homestead was patented September 26th, 1910 by which point they had cleared 110 acres and had seeded 88 acres with crops, and another 45 acres were fenced for livestock (Doell 1999; Dominion Lands Branch 1910a). He also had a stable, a well and a granary on the farm.

Through a pre-emption, Heinrich Dueck began developing another property soon after obtaining his original homestead. A pre-emption was the method through which 'unused' crown land was granted to individuals who already had successful homestead grants (Royal British Columbia Museum 2017; Waiser 2005). The process for a pre-emption followed the homestead application format in that the applicator had to clear and cultivate the land (Royal British Columbia Museum 2017; Waiser 2005). On April 10th 1910, the Duecks began to work the quarter section gained through the pre-emption, specifically NW 33-37-2-W3 (Dominion Lands Branch 1919). When the land title was granted for NW 33-37-2-W3 nine years later, the Duecks built a second granary, cleared 43 more acres, and fenced another 85 acres (Dominion Lands

Branch 1910a). Heinrich and Margaret Dueck are mentioned as only having five children living at home which means Henry, Anna, and Nettie were either married or had died by 1919.

By 1922, Heinrich Dueck had added NW-4-38-2-W3 to his land holdings (Cummins Map Company 1922). Cornelius Friesen was the original homesteader of the property and Heinrich Dueck was his signatory (Dominion Lands Branch 1910b). By the 1916 census, a Henry and Justina Dueck owned the property whereas in 1920 J. H. Dueck is noted as the property owner (Cummins Map Company 1920; Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta 1916). The J. H. Dueck on the 1920 census could mean that Henry still owned the property and his second name was Henry. This would mean that Heinrich Dueck's oldest boy owned NW-4-38-2 W3 until 1922 when his father obtained the property (Cummins Map Company 1922). The other possibility is that a different relative owned the property and sold it to Heinrich Dueck in 1922. The reasons why J. H. Dueck left the property are not known.

Just because the Duecks owned three properties did not mean that farming was easy for them. An example of this is demonstrated through Heinrich Dueck's statement made on November 20th 1923, in relation to NW 33-37-2-W3 "the land is too stony for farming and it is not worth trying to work and I wish to abandon it unconditionally" (Dominion Lands Branch 1923). Why would one give up land they owned for two and a half years after working for nine years to obtain the property? Could the abandoned quarter section signify preparation to leave the area?

Another document was found in the homestead record which may facilitate understanding of why the Duecks left the homestead. Upon the original homestead patent is a grain seed stamp (Dominion Lands Branch 1923). Possibly Heinrich was struggling to pay for his loans and defaulted on them sometime before the 1924 Tax Roll when Toronto General Trust took over the mortgages on all the Dueck's property (Tax Roll 2007).

When both Henry and Heinrich Deuck and their families left their land, it was a time of great change in the Mennonite Community in Western Canada. Starting in 1922 Mennonites emigrated to Mexico, Paraguay and other South American countries to obtain a 'less worldly life' or more land for Mennonite reserve expansion. Therefore, it is possible that the Duecks sold their land and moved to South America, or took advantage of the situation to move to better agricultural land in Canada. A search through the families that left the Hague-Osler Reserve by train for Mexico has never revealed their names.

2.7.3 Janzen

Toronto General Trust owned SW4-38-02 W3 until 1926 when it was sold to H. Janzen (Tax Roll 2007). A J. Janzen owned NW 4-38-02 W3, demonstrating that H. Janzen had family nearby like Henrich Dueck did (Cummins Map Company 1930). A previous Aberdeen Community Pasture Manager, Bob Jones, said that a Pete Janzen fell into the well in 1927, hitting his head and never fully recovering (Kennedy, personal communication 2014). Jones identified the father of the family as Pete whereas the paperwork identifies him as having a first name that starts with an 'H'. These two names could be the same person since first names are not always used in everyday interactions, mistaken records, or other unknown factors. If the injured individual was the father of the family, the struggle of trying to farm would have become more difficult for him. The dry 1930s would have been challenging enough on this rocky property without an injured family member. Either way it can be assumed that farming this homestead was difficult in the 1930s. In 1936, the Toronto General Trusts Corporation bought or possibly repossessed the property (Tax Roll 2007).

2.7.4 The Last Owners and the Creation of a Community Pasture

In 1945 a J. B. Guenther and a John W. Friesen took possession of SW 4-38-02-W3 and owned it until 1949 (Tax Roll 2007). It is not known if they lived on the property or just farmed it. The land was sold in 1950 to the Crown, which turned the property into a Community Pasture (Tax Roll 2007).

2.8 Conclusion

The Mennonites are an Anabaptist group with important beliefs about living in communities separate from the world and prohibiting the intentional harming of another human being. These two beliefs have caused them to move when social and political circumstances were not favourable. Mennonites were known as good farmers and therefore were preferred immigrants, so they were given exemptions by Canadian governments to ensure that they would immigrate to the prairies. Eventually, these exemptions were broken so some Mennonites moved to other countries that would support their religious and cultural practices. These various migrations have resulted in the Mennonites living in many different countries and communities.

Leading them to form their own ethnoreligious identity, one that they continue to be very proud of today.

The Mennonites were one of the first groups to settle western Canada in large numbers. They have been a very important ethnoreligious group in western Canada and have had a large impact on the area. The Mennonites with their settlement pattern caused the Canadian government to reform their strict homestead policy with the passing of the Hamlet clause which impacted the settlement of other groups within the Canadian prairies. Their Reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are important testimonies to the lives of the people who brought the land under cultivation. The Mennonites also founded or help create many communities within the Canadian prairies. The archaeological study of FbNn-14, just outside of the Hague-Osler Reserve, will allow a greater understanding the lives of the Mennonite inhabitants in the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 3
Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Humans have several different identities in their daily life based on their age, their relationships to others in the household, their gender, occupation, and ethnicity. More specifically, material culture plays a part in the expression of these identities on many occasions and it is the belief of archaeologists that they can interpret behaviours and identities when studying the archaeological record. Since any one individual might assume different identities in daily domestic life, it is important to employ a multi-faceted theoretical framework to achieve a better understanding of the processes that might have created the archaeological record. Pertinent theories that will aid in interpreting FbNn-14 are those dealing with consumption, ethnicity, gender, and childhood. Each of these is discussed in this chapter and will be used in tandem to aid in understanding the archaeological record. The study of an ethnoreligious group should include both knowledge of a cultural background as well as a theoretical framework to facilitate a fuller understanding of the archaeological assemblage. Therefore, the section that focuses on gender and childhood theory incorporates Mennonite cultural practices relating to those topics since gender and childhood are culturally specific.

The static nature of the archaeological record poses a challenge to archaeologists (Upton 1996), but a person's identity is not a stable entity; it is ever changing. Archaeological sites consist of artifacts that are deposited at different times by various members of a household. Each of these individuals depositing items though time presents a different interpretation of their ethnicity or their role in the household. These individuals also can be actively trying to hide parts of their identity at different times to present a different image (Beaudoin 2016). So how do

archaeologists tease out the meaning behind an assemblage? Using archaeological theory and understanding of the assemblage's cultural context can aid in the interpretation.

3.2 Consumption

Mullins states that all archaeology is the study of consumption (2011b). Consumption, in Historical Archaeology, refers to the "complex of techniques, organizations, and ideologies that facilitate the mass production, [and] mass distribution … of goods" (Majewski and Schiffer 2009). Wealth, consumer demand, morals, politics, identity, domesticity, and the evolution of shopping are interrelated and form a part of a societal discourse through which an individual bought, used, and disposed of a specific artifact that ended up as part of the archaeological record (Henry 1991; Mullins 2011a).

Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology edited by Spencer-Wood (1987a) gave archaeologists the tools to start examining individual choice in purchasing. She was particularly interested in identities of socio-economic status standards that could be applied to household assemblages depending on location and date. Price lists were developed for artifacts to determine the amount of money spent on the assemblage (Henry 1987; Hodgetts 2006; Lee Decker et al. 1987; Miller 1980; 1991; Mullins 2011a; Spencer-Wood 1987). Written records were used to demonstrate status and occupation that were then related to the archaeological assemblages to determine the estimated worth of the assemblage related to the inhabitant's income (Henry 1987; Lee Decker et al. 1987). Spencer-Wood and her contemporaries thought that it would be a straightforward correlation between socio-economic status and the archaeological assemblage (Spencer-Wood 1987). But they discovered that only a weak correlation could be made between social status and worth of the artifacts in one's home.

The issue of finding a 'standard household' or a base household against which all others can be compared is impossible (Henry 1991). One model household cannot be used as a comparison across space and time. Every geographic location, time in history, and every household is unique.

Many different factors influence how individuals spend their income. Individuals can save for pricey items that are important to them (Lee Decker et al. 1987). But only non-degradable items such as glass or ceramics would typically survive in the archaeological context, thus

swaying the archaeologist to look at these artifacts as the only measure of wealth. Other factors such as curation or obtaining items second hand can also influence what items appear in an archaeological assemblage (Lee Decker et al. 1987). There are many different ways that artifacts can end up in an archaeological context but nothing is present unless deposited by a human. Thus, understanding the process through which individuals go when acquiring items can help interpret the artifacts found in an archaeological assemblage.

3.2.1 Households in Relation to Mass Production and the Global Market

Consumption is normally analysed through the study of items from the global market that were disposed of at the site of an individual homestead. In Historical Archaeology, each community is connected to the global market differently so understanding the relationship between a community and the global market helps interpret how specific items came into individual homesteads (Carroll 1999). Goods as well as ideas flow between the local community and the global market making exchanges varied based on communities' needs and their specific connections to the global economy. Even if individuals are at the periphery of the global economy, they still participate in it, affect it, and rely on it (Adams 1976).

In the mid-eighteenth century, the industrial revolution and technological mechanization started to change the world's economy. As a result, items could be made on a large scale at an accelerated pace and more cheaply. The globalization of mass produced and standardized goods made them potentially available to all households from the early twentieth century onwards. Each of these mass produced items is analysed to better understand the items within each archaeological assemblage. Factory records are used to give date ranges for artifacts, helping archaeologists understand where and when items were made and the extent to which items travelled before entering the archaeological record (Adams 1976). Understanding each local area's connection to the national market and the products that individuals could access allows easier interpretation of archaeological assemblages (Adams 1976). The connection of an area to the national market economy is impacted by the distance between the factory or the location where a product is made and the potential market (Riordan and Adams 1985). As the transportation industry modernized with steamboats, railways, and trucks, access to more remote areas became easier (Adams 1976). As more areas became accessible, regional centres started to become hubs that produced items that could then be sold to the local area (Adams, Bowers and

Mills 2001). Places that were originally thought to have been geographically isolated in the first half of the twentieth century from the large centers of North America have been proven to have had access to regional, national, and international markets (Adams, Bowers and Mills 2001).

Stewart-Abernathy's work on a household in the Ozarks of Kansas is an example of how a global market analysis can be applied to an individual homestead. In the 1890s, the Ozarks were viewed as being peripheral to the economy yet the inhabitants of the homestead had new inventions within their household showing their connection to the national economy (Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Canning jars found at the homestead demonstrates that they were available and adopted for regular household use (Stewart-Abernathy 1992). This article showed that the stereotype of the Ozarks as a cultural 'backwater' that was unchanging did not hold true because the individuals living in the Ozarks were participating in the modern economy and accepting newly discovered ideas such as sanitation of food products. Through archaeology, written records, and interviews, Stewart-Abernathy demonstrated the maintenance of traditional values as well as the incorporation of mass produced items into the life of the homestead (Stewart-Abernathy 1992). The inhabitants of the Ozark homestead, even though living in a more remote region, were active participants and engaged with new advancements in technology. This analysis of as Ozark homestead provides a parallel for FbNn-14. Saskatchewan, like the Ozarks, could be interpreted as a peripheral region for market access. This consideration should be kept in mind when discussing the Mennonites or more specifically FbNn-14.

3.2.2 Mennonite Consumption

One of the ideologies that is crucial to the Mennonites and influenced their consumption practice is the ideal of separation from the world. The Mennonites believe that the world is full of sin and only in a separated community can they properly honour God (Dyck 1981:136-137; Epp 1974:23; Schroeder 1990:2). This separation from the world should be evident in all aspects of their lives, including purchasing items from outside their community. Yet quite often the Mennonites were not capable of producing all their own materials to live on, so they needed to access the larger regional or global economy was needed through travelling salesmen, local shops, and catalogues. Therefore, they had exposure to the same items as their non-Mennonite neighbours.

Accepting new technologies within the Mennonite community is full of tension (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995:250-263; Schmidt 2002). New items such as radios or phones could be treated as too worldly since one is actively bringing the 'world' into one's home (Redekop 1969:138; Umble 2002:40-47). Yet items like electricity and tractors were accepted quite quickly into the community in Saskatchewan (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995:250-263; Redekop 1969:138). The tension between what is and is not allowed would be discussed by the local church council and each church would decide what was too worldly and the reason for this conclusion. Therefore, even through the Mennonites purchased items from the 'outside' world, they debated about what was acceptable to keep their ideals alive.

3.3 Ethnicity Theory

One of the factors that may have a significant effect on consumption behaviour is ethnicity, which can be defined as "the aspect of a person's self-conception which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent" (Jones 1997:xiii). Anthropologists and sociologists have developed multiple theoretical approaches to the study of ethnicity, two of which are primordialism and instrumentalism. Primordialism posits that ethnic groups form because a group develops common cultural practices, religion and symbols due to its members being descended from common ancestory (Hu 2013). Whereas, researchers following an instrumentalism approach believe in part that groups use symbols or cultural differences as tools of differentiation when competing over resources (Emberling 1997:306-307; Hu 2013). The latter theory, instrumentalism, is particularly relevant to the Mennonites who throughout their history experienced repeated discrimination and lack of understanding that led to frequent migrations to find new environments where they could be left to practise freely their chosen religion and way of life.

Jones maintains that the best way to understand a group's ethnicity is through a holistic approach to archaeology (Jones 1997; 2010). Multiple lines of evidence should be used to allow a broader understanding of ethnicity such as: architectural styles, artifacts, foodways, spatial layouts, historical documents, census records, photographs, gender, child rearing practises, social practices, religious practices, governmental structure, and symbols. Every line of evidence allows a fuller picture of the past and aids in interpreting the archaeological data.

When ethnicity theory was first used in an archaeological framework, it was done under nationalist agendas and the search was for a single symbol or object that represented a modern nation's past, presence, location, and strength (Jones 1997; 2008). For example, Germany, upon becoming a united country in the late nineteenth century, strove to uncover its Germanic roots by identifying brooches or weapons that were unique within the contemporary boundaries of their nation (Brather 2002; Gillett 2002; Jones 2008) Occasionally newer research discussed single artifact types in association with specific ethnic groups but generally archaeological approaches to ethnicity are more varied now (Stone 2009; Wegars 1991). Connecting one artifact or symbol to an ethnic group tends to be a superficial way of understanding ethnicity. Thus, a holistic approach to the whole archaeological assemblage and a better understand of lived identities is needed to better understand the past. Archaeologists use artifacts or symbols to try to understand past thought processes or lived experiences. Patterns in the archaeological record cannot be found by looking at only one artifact or symbol.

Jones's ethnicity framework relies on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to bridge the gap between the static archaeological assemblage and the dynamics of lived ethnicity (Jones 2010). *Habitus* is defined as similar, repetitive social practices that can both shape and be shaped by an ethnic group to aid in the creation of identity (Bourdieu 1977:72,78; Jones 1997:88-90,120). *Habitus* is an actively lived cultural practice that leaves behind patterns that can be potentially recognized in the archaeological record. The archaeological record will therefore reflect the presence of these repeated actions in the artifact assemblage and spatial layout of an archaeological site (Jones 1997). Repeated symbols or activities represent practices that are important to a culture (Jones 1997:128). Interpreting these symbols and actions allows access into the past.

3.3.1 Ethnicity Theory in Historical Archaeology

In the last four decades of Historical Archaeology, ethnicity has been a major topic of investigation (Cheek and Friendlander 1990; Clark 2005; Garver 2015; McGuire 1982). Written records give historical archaeologists another line of evidence to examine, material that is not to available to prehistoric archaeologists. However, historical records can be both a blessing and a curse, so they must be used with caution. Historical records tell a narrative, but this narrative is affected by ethnoreligious biases or opinions of the recorder that heavily influence the 'facts'

(Jones 2010). Even historical documents that are thought to be detailed and accurate, such as census forms, must be analyzed carefully to insure there are no contradictions.

Some historical archaeologists dislike the term ethnicity because it implies a cohesiveness across a cultural group and they do not believe this is possible because of the endless variabilities in human experience (Armstrong 2008; Gonzàez-Tennament 2011; Mullins 2008). The archaeology and study of these diverse experiences is diaspora archaeology which analyses the archaeological assemblages of the same ethnoreligious group to understand the extent of differences (Armstrong 2008; Gonzàez-Tennament 2011; Mullins 2008). Variations would be noticeable in the archaeological record when examining different immigrations even within the same ethnoreligious group to the same new environment (Carroll 1999).

3.3.2 Ethnicity and Consumption Considerations

The most conservative ethnoreligious practise that resists change for longer is food and the associated ceramics (Cabak and Loring 2000; Mullins 2011a). When ethnic groups move, they are forced to interact with different markets causing them to purchase different items than they would at 'home'. Yet the ethnic group will only purchase items that work with their traditions (Ross 2011).

Through a consumption analysis of their material culture archaeology can allow different groups to be freed of stereotypes. Griggs (1999) explored the material culture of the Irish in New York City. The discussion of raising children, common jobs for the community, the varying status of the individuals in the community, and the extensive support that individuals gave to their community totally erased the stereotype of the poor drunk Irishman (Griggs 1999). The variety of experiences of the Irish in New York and their lasting influence on the city is an excellent example of using consumption to reinterpret the historical record. If the consumption of ethnic groups is analyzed in a nuanced and holistic manner, results will be more accurate.

3.3.3 Ethnicity, Change, and Interaction

Ethnic groups are not static within their own cultural boundaries, but can be characterized by internal variation amongst subgroups. The use of the word 'Chinese' for example does not explain the whole range of experiences for every single person of Chinese descent. Rather the microenvironment they grew up in and their individual life experiences can vary greatly

(Gonzàez-Tennament 2011; Mullins 2008). Similarly, the different immigration paths to Canada that the Mennonites took resulted in different expressions of their cultural practices. Depending on whether the specific Mennonite family came to Saskatchewan from the United States, modern day Ukraine, or Manitoba, or before or after World War I, their experiences were different (Epp 1974;1982). At each step of the way they would be influenced by neighbours, the local dominant culture, political climate, geography, and members of their own community to name a few. Throughout these differing influences the foundations of their ethnoreligious beliefs and practices were resistant to change.

The process of change in an ethnic group does not make the group any less 'pure' because change is a part of all cultures. Extenuating factors such as a new politics, geography or interactions can cause change in ethnic groups. When change occurs, both the continuity with and the change from previous practice are of importance. In fact, the understanding of how a group changed, even if only superficially, to become who they are today is fascinating. Such evolution in an ethnic group may be seen in the archaeological record through a shift in an ethnic group's *habitus*. For example, Penner's 1997 discussion of Swiss-Germans or Appenzellers in South Carolina examined change in the community through time. Penner found that during the initial settlement period in 1737 the Appenzeller were largely insular but in fifteen years they were participating in the larger society (Penner 1997:282,295). Initial isolation upon immigration appears to be a general immigrant strategy for survival when an ethnoreligious group is suddenly one of many. When specific ethnic groups such as the Ukrainians moved to the Canadian prairies, they settled close together; and when they had adapted to the land, learned English if they did not know it before, and felt secure, they become more integrated in the larger community (Loewen 2002a). Therefore, as time progressed through the twentieth century a larger interaction of the Mennonite community to the surrounding Anglo-Canadian society can be assumed.

Change in an ethnoreligious group can also happen out of necessity, fear, or want of inclusion. A group in Canada could minimize parts of their ethnicity that make them appear different to give the impression of 'Britishness', thus making them more acceptable to the larger community and allowing them to experience less exclusion (Beaudoin 2016). For example, by the early twentieth century, the Métis built log cabins that had a symmetrical Georgian style façade with an interior open floor (Burley 2000:29-33). This demonstrates that on the outside of

the structure the Métis had complied to a dominant Ango-Canadian architectural norms, but their cultural practice around open space use continued in the house (Burley 2000:29-33; Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992:125-151).

When two ethnic groups interact, there is an option to resist change. The resistance of change would be accented through an overt display of differences even when facing severe hostility or racism. This can be particularly true in the case of an ethnoreligious group where religion may also be a cause of discrimination from another group.

3.3.4 Mennonite Ethnicity

Mennonite ethnicity and cultural practices were discussed in Chapter 2, but there are several points that will be reiterated here. The Mennonites, on their immigration to Canada, wanted to live in bloc settlements, which helped to create a homogenous, protected, and integrated cultural community, allowing them to assist and visit each other with ease as well as maintain traditions such as language and cooking (Warkentin 1959) These bloc settlements made them. The geographical closeness of the community facilitated worship on Sunday and a close-knit community. It was also not unusual to have families that were related live close together, which in turn, would facilitate a stronger community network. Even through the Mennonites did have their own community network in Canada, they had neighbours who were not Mennonite. The contact between the Mennonites and the neighbours with whom they came into contact allowed new influences to be felt in the Mennonite community. One noticeable effect was when the orientation of Mennonite houses changed to face the street (Sawatzky 2005). This shift was largely an exterior variation since the interior of the house remained the same (Sawatzky 2005:98,129). A parallel can be seen between the Mennonites and the Métis since although both communities changed the exterior of their houses, neither of them shifted internal space use.

The interaction with the surrounding Anglo-Canadian exposed the Mennonites to different patterns of social practices. In the 1930s-1950s, events such as weddings and funerals that were traditionally celebrated in the home moved into the church, causing the homes to become more private spaces (Sawatzky 2005:187). This reflects the Anglo-Canadian practice of the separation of work and home, which the Mennonites had been previously not been exposed (Wall 1994). While many cultural practices stayed the same in the Mennonite community, interactions with the larger Anglo-Canadian community led to changes.

3.4 Gender and Archaeology

Gender archaeology started when it was recognized that the concept of gender in archaeology was being assumed and not examined critically (Conkey and Spector 1984). Conkey and Spector (1984) pointed out that archaeology up to the 1980s had been male-focussed. Thus, femininity and womanhood began to be studied through an archaeological lens. The examination of the male/female dichotomy allowed nuances between female and male roles to be studied (Stine 2014:8-9). The breaking of the European gender binary has allowed third genders and queer archaeologies to be studied as well (Geller 2009:71).

Gender is not directly determined by biological sex but is a social construction that is specific to a place and time in history (Voss 2006). People can use consumption to highlight their gendered societal or household roles (Vermeer 2009; Wall 1999). For example, engagement and wedding rings are often costly items that show status or wealth and physically represent marital status. A discussion of femininity and masculinity as ideologies will help to understand the gender binaries that exist in the ethnoreligious practises of the Mennonites. The concepts of motherhood and fatherhood of women and men will be discussed as well.

3.4.1 Femininity

In Historical Archaeology, the household is viewed as the woman's realm, and therefore, many items in the household are seen to have a connection to women. For example, the striving for matching plates is believed to symbolize a woman's control over her house and a sense of order (Mullins 2011a:75-104; Rotman 2005). The imagery on the plates or the tea ware may have an important social meaning that contained symbolism to the woman of the household. For example, in nineteenth century New York city in middle and upper class houses, the gothic church-like imagery on tea ware, and other items was popular and thought to demonstrate the woman's role as the maintainer of morality in the household (Crook 2000; Mullins 2011a:75-104; Wall 1999).

The tea ceremony is stereotyped as being a very "British" activity. Yet many people from different social status and countries participated in this activity or at least a version of it. Within early nineteenth century America, middle to upper class women used tea ware and the associated ceremony to signal their role as upholders of their family's position and maintain social ties (Mullins 2011a; Wall 1994; 1999). Although individuals were unaware of the symbolism, the tea

ceremony was a way to organize social engagements. Once tea time was at a regular time everyday in a household, then neighbours would know the acceptable time for visiting. As an organized engagement, there was an expectation of certain kinds of hot beverages, such as tea or coffee, and of baked goods such as cakes, cookies, fancy breads, biscuits, or pies. The tea ceremony would be a way for Mennonite families to visit each other and uphold their community.

Other household activities or production directly associated with Mennonite women included sewing, quilting, cooking, baking, looking the after children, and cleaning. Some of these activities, such as sewing, were both necessary and pleasurable (Porter and Ferrier 2006). Sewing could be used to create clothes, demonstrate skill, reflect on a pastime, repair clothes, make gifts or used to generate income for the household. If the mother of a household had skills as a seamstress, this was a huge asset. Therefore, a sewing needle found in an archaeological assemblage could represent a large range of activities.

3.4.2 Mennonite Women

In Mennonite society, women oversaw the household and the farmyard (Sawatzky 2005:167). A Mennonite woman would be expected to keep the house in good order, cook, bake, preserve food, look after children, sew, quilt, and care for chickens, cows, pigs, and other farmyard animals (Epp 2008; Loewen 1999). Therefore, a mother on a Mennonite farmstead had many responsibilities, most of which revolved around making sure the household and surrounding farmyard were in good order. Extensive effort would have been spent insuring that the household had sufficient food supplies for the winter (Epp 2008:238-244). Having baked snacks in the form of cookies, cakes, or breads ready for guests and having a clean household was a standard (Epp 2008:238-244). As such, proficient skills in cooking and baking would have been essential for Mennonite women, and being a good cook would have been a source of pride for her and her household (Epp 2008:238-244).

3.4.3 Masculinity

Quite often in Historical Archaeology, manhood or masculinity was assumed to be the default by which all other ideas were compared. Once unpacked that the stereotype for manhood was equated with “Western, elite, heterosexual, white” (Spencer-Wood 2013a:416), which does

not apply to all ethnic groups. The modern western concept of manhood cannot be universally applied to the past since roles of manhood change throughout time and cultures. Masculinity as defined in the western world will be briefly examined to understand how it has changed over the last few centuries. In the early nineteenth century, or arguably earlier, the concept of moral masculinity rose, which mirrored the role of women in instilling morality in their family (Hatch 2015; Spencer-Wood 2013b:200-201). Men aimed to gain power and respect by being considered a gentleman in his community, achieved through right action, providing for his family, chastity and respectability (Hatch 2015:6-7; Spencer-Wood 2013a:407; 2013b:200-201). Therefore, in the nineteenth century, even though a man's role was emphasized in the public sphere, he was still present in the home. Also, spaces in the house would switch gender association based on activity preformed, time of day, and who was present (Hatch 2015:40-42).

3.4.4 Mennonite Manhood

The ideal Mennonite man was married and the head of a household. This meant that he oversaw discipline and held the power in the household (Sawatzky 2005:165). The authority that he held was backed by the church and therefore community-sanctioned (Sawatzky 2005:167). A man provided for his family which was done through working the fields or his business. The nature of farm work often led men to work with neighbours or on neighbour's farms to get the work done efficiently. Also, another role that was only available to Mennonite men was to be a deacon or preacher in the church (Epp 2008:121). Mennonite men, especially those that were preachers, had more public roles than women.

3.5 Life Cycles of Households

A household consists of people who live in the same home and have face to face daily contact (Allison 1998:16). While a household normally includes a nuclear family, it can also include grandparents, married children, or hired hands. A household in Historical Archaeology is the smallest residential unit that can be separated out in the archaeological record (Mullins 2011a). Household consumption directly relates to a household's life cycle. Archaeologists often strive to find single occupation middens because they yield the cleanest interpretations. This

unfortunately is not possible at FbNn-14; Depression A has no clear stratigraphic divisions between the different occupation phases.

An individual human's life cycle consists of childhood, adulthood, and old age. Therefore, an archaeological life cycle can be seen through the rise and fall of different material cultural elements through one family living together in a household (Groover 2001). In this cycle the family will be setting up house, having young children, raising older children, assisting with young adults moving out, and concluding by the aging of the original couple (Groover 2004:25-27). The ages and the numbers of individuals at different ages will impact the consumption of a household (Groover 2001).

People at different stages of life have different needs and these variations through time are often noticeable in the archaeological record (Groover 2001). For instance, elderly individuals and young children have been shown to be associated with an increase in medicine bottles at historical archaeological sites (Lee Decker et al. 1987:236-240). Young couples and when a couple has older children have been demonstrated to be a period of increased household consumption (Carr and Walsh 1994:126-127). When a young couple or a new family is setting up house, new styles of ceramics, for instance, may be present in the midden if the artifacts can be separated spatially (Groover 2001). When a family is leaving a house, they will dispose of items that they decide are not worth moving. Households where one parent dies or is ill could also influence the archaeological record with a decrease in items related to gender or increases in medication bottles.

Of the families discussed in Chapter 2 who have owned and/or lived at FbNn-14, both the Dueck and the Janzen families had multiple children. Therefore, the impact of children on the archaeological record should be considered. It is also possible that either Guenther or Friesen lived on this parcel of land as well. The impact that each occupation phase would have on the farm layout, animals kept, and location of middens would probability vary with the different owners. Considering the nature of these families is likely to yield a more nuanced view of the archaeology at FbNn-14.

3.6 Theorizing Childhood

Since the 1990s the archaeological community has been interested in the study of childhood and children and their impact on the archaeological record (Baxter 2005). Children, for the most part, are silent in the written historical record. Yet they make up a large part of the historical demographic (Baxter 2005; 2015; Hutton 2015). Childhood is a time when one is taught societal expectation and learns the responsibilities of being an adult (Hirschfeld 2002; Lima 2012; Sofaer 2015). For a society to continue, children must be taught cultural traditions, customs, language and skills. So, the raising of children into adulthood is an important task for parents and done through repetitive patterns.

Not only can patterns of adults teaching skills to children be found in the archaeological record, but direct evidence of children's presence can be identified (Arden 2015; Kamp 2015:41). Children are conscious decision-making individuals who leave recognizable patterns in the archaeological record as they contribute to the household (Baxter 2006, 2008; Hutton 2015). Children help parents or caretakers with tasks as soon as they can walk. As children grow up and correctly accomplish tasks given to them by their parents they are given more responsibility (Baxter 2005, 2006). When children do not have direct supervision, they can be more free and creative with their play or work (Kamp 2015:47). It is crucial to look at children in the archaeological record through the lens of culture since childhood is often defined differently (Baxter 2005; Coşkusu 2015; Hole 2015).

3.6.1 Mennonite Children

The historical characterization of Mennonite childhood was obtained from journals and biographies of Mennonites in western Canada in the early twentieth century. From birth until the age of five, children stayed close to the house due to their fragile nature (Carlson, Taylor and Levin 1998). As soon as children could manage tasks, they were encouraged to help with work around the farm and house. Girls helped their mothers or other women in the household with tasks like sewing, cleaning, and cooking (Loewen 1999). Girls looked after the animals (Sawatzky 2005:168). Boys worked in the barnyard work feeding animals, plowing and other repair and cleaning work (Loewen 1999; Sawatzky 2005:168). Around the age of twelve, boys were hunting and trapping on the farmstead property (Loewen 1999; Weins 2004). The tasks for

the girls were focussed on food preparation, and household and barnyard chores while the boys' work centered around outside work granting them more freedom of movement than their sisters (Epp 2000:62-63).

The age of solo responsibility for children within Mennonite tradition would be mid-teens. If the parents had mature children that they could trust to look after the farm, the parents would gain more freedom (Loewen 1999:77-85). For example, parents could leave responsible children to do the farm work while the parents entertained relatives and visitors or they could travel to visit neighbours for an afternoon or longer (Weins 2004). The age of the children left in charge of the household seem to be around mid to late teens (Loewen 1999:77-85). The church defined the path to adulthood in Mennonite tradition. One needed to be baptized to be considered an adult member of the church and to be married. Therefore, baptism often happened near when an individual got married.

In Mennonite households, age and gender were important for prioritization of room access and sleeping space. The infants and toddlers slept in their parents' room (Sawatzky 2005:169). At approximately four or five years of age children were moved to a room to sleep with their siblings (Sawatzky 2005:169). For girls, this was a room close to the central stove, the centre of the house and near their parents' room emphasizing the home as the place of their work (Sawatzky 2005:169, 190). Boys were moved to a part of the house that was close to, if not in the barn, emphasizing their role of helping with the farm yard (Sawatzky 2005:169, 190). As a child became adults and got married they would get their own private room, in their parent's household (Sawatzky 2005:179).

3.7 Conclusion

A person's identity consists of many parts such as ethnicity, gender, and age to name a few, which in turn interact with and are affected by each other (Rains 2003). Each of the theoretical approaches discussed in this chapter will help in the interpretation of the artifacts recovered from FbNn-14. Applying Mennonite definition of childhood, life cycles, gender, ethnicity and consumption will aid in interpreting the assemblage. Ethnicities consists of individuals who are from the same cultural group and/or claim common descent. In the Mennonites' case, it is important to add religion to the definition. The Mennonites strong

adherence to their faith is the reason they moved so often throughout the centuries to allow them the freedom to practice their faith without strong governmental influence. The relocating of the Mennonites often in independent communities resulted in the development of unique ways of building houses and performing activities. Thus, the Mennonites unique ethnoreligious identity would be something that could be seen in the archaeological record due to *habitus* (Jones 2010). The *habitus* of a cultural group is quite persistent even with the consumption of material items from another culture. A holistic picture of the Mennonites can only be achieved when examining various parts of the Mennonites' ethnoreligious beliefs. The identities of FbNn-14 inhabitants would affect the items that were purchased and how these items were used. What items the individuals who lived at FbNn-14 bought are affected by their interaction with the global market. Therefore, attention must be paid to Mennonite consumption practices to understand how they may have used mass produced items.

The life cycle or the life stage of the individuals who lived in the household also affects consumption. The presence of children in the homestead, particularly the Janzen and the Dueck families that lived at FbNn-14, should be considered. Children are important because they become the next generation of a society and therefore the raising of them is done with care. Women were often in charge of raising children in a Mennonite household. A mother would instruct the girls on their duties and care for the small children as well. Some other duties of a Mennonite woman were gardening, milking, cooking, cleaning, sewing, and canning. In general, women oversaw the running of home.

Every person and culture changes no matter the time period or location. Understanding how and why this change occurs poses questions for archaeology. This thesis is particularly interested in how change occurs in groups after moving into a new locale. The first generation of immigrants had to adapt to new circumstances, such as interaction with different cultural groups, new farming practices, new environments, lack of equipment, and not having the capital to set up their occupation properly. Then, the second generation, those whose parents were immigrants, called Saskatchewan home. Each ethnoreligious group would react differently to moving to a new country. Information gleaned from FbNn-14 will help add to our understanding of how the Mennonites transitioned to living on the Canadian prairies. Hardships such as English-only schools, the Great Depression, the great droughts of the 1930s, and racism together with the advantages of Saskatchewan such as available land, living in an ethnic bloc, and religious

freedom shaped the Mennonite *habitus*. The Mennonites, in turn, helped form the foundation of the province of Saskatchewan.

Chapter 4
FbNn-14 Artifact Functional Categories

4.1 Artifact Assemblage Introduction

The artifact assemblage from FbNn-14 is assumed to relate to all its occupations/ ownership, as described in Chapter 2. A total of 13,287 historic artifact pieces were unearthed at FbNn-14. Some of the artifact fragments mended to each other reducing the total number of artifacts to 11,882, which is the number that will be discussed in this chapter. The artifacts have been sorted into functional groups to facilitate their interpretation. This chapter discusses the classification scheme, as well as places the artifacts in it, and briefly discusses each functional category.

4.2 The Classification Scheme

The functional categories that historical archaeologists use today were first developed by Stanley South (1977:92-102) to organize large assemblages to facilitate archaeological interpretations and develop patterns of artifact use. In 1981, Roderick Sprague published a more standardized format for categories. Artifacts are assigned different activity groups based on their functions as intended at point of manufacture. For example, a nail will be placed in the *Architectural* group to denote its function as an item that helps build structures. Even though Sprague's system has provided the basis for most functional category divisions, there is still wide variation. Many archaeologists create or adopt functional categories for their own needs or to allow a better ‘fit’ for the material they are examining. This thesis is no different as it borrows

from various classification systems. Details regarding the functional categories which have been used are discussed in this chapter and are presented in Table 4.1.

The objective behind the classification of historical archaeological assemblages is to organize artifacts into functional groups to illuminate activities associated in the artifacts (Sprague 1981). These functional groups are then divided into subgroups allowing for interpretation to be made about the artifacts. The placement of artifacts into these functional groups and subgroups directly affects the interpretation of an assemblage. Therefore, these interpretations must first be explored before the artifacts are discussed.

Table 4.1: Functional Groups and Functional Subgroups

Personal	Clothing
	Footwear
	Adornment
	Accoutrement
Health and Hygiene	Medication
	Toiletries
	Grooming
Household Furnishings	Household decoration
	Grooming
	Household furniture
	Household hardware
	Lighting
	Heating
	Electrical
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry
	Sewing and repair
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware
	Serving ware
	Multiple use food storage
	Single use food storage
	Food production
	Subsistence
Social and Recreational	Toys
	Games
	Music
	Smoking
	Alcoholic consumption
Education and Communication	Telecommunications
	Writing
Architectural	Construction hardware
	Door hardware
	Window hardware
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack
	Fencing
	Farm implement
	Farm machinery
Defence and Hunting	Arms
	Ammunition
Transportation	Mechanized
	Cycling
Unaltered	Faunal
	Organic
	Shell
Unclassifiable	Ceramic
	Closure
	Foil
	Glass
	Glass bottle
	Glass container
	Leather
	Leather and metal
	Metal
	Metal and rubber
	Metal container
	Metal fastener
	Paper
	Paint
	Plastic
	Rubber
	Textile

4.2.1 Classification Scheme Organizational Considerations

Some artifacts can be placed in many different groups or subgroups. For this study, the best fit was used unless it had too many uses. For example, nails were placed under the *Architectural* group whereas they may also have been a part of a fence or even a piece of wooden farm machinery. Allocating different sizes of nails to different architectural elements, such as the roof or floor, was impossible due to a lack of functional association or primary context (Young 1991). However, nails were used extensively in architecture so their placement in this category is the best option.

The groups and subgroups, more often the subgroups, can easily be rearranged, which could facilitate very different interpretations. For example, tea ware can be sorted under the *Food Preparation and Consumption* group in the tableware subgroup. Tea ware can also be placed in the *Social and Recreational* group in the subgroup of Tea ware. The second category allocation is more likely to lead to an interpretation that tea ware in the assemblage is a result of social engagement rather than the first category allocation that would suggest functional tableware for consumption. Yet, the activity of tea drinking falls in both categories since tea drinking can be a solitary event as well as a social one. The defining of the difference between them should be determined by the quantity and/or variety of decoration in the tea ware in the assemblage. If there are multiple pieces of tea ware that make up a large part of the assemblage, then the individuals may have consumed tea regularly but were not careful with their cups. If a large tea set is present, it is probable that it was purchased for sustaining social visits.

4.2.2 Functional System

FbNn-14 was excavated by Dr. Margaret Kennedy in 2007 (Kennedy 2015a). Recovered materials were subsequently sorted into the classification scheme she developed over the last decade when examining homestead artifact assemblages (Kennedy, personal communication 2015c). Her system forms the basis of the functional groups used in this thesis. Modifications were made to the functional groups in consultation with Enns-Kavanagh's 2002 Master's thesis, which adds to Kennedy's framework by providing more subgroups and separating out some of the functional groups as well. In addition, Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database, also known as SHARD, a classification guide developed by the Anthropological Research Centre in 2008, aided in the placement of artifacts into groups and subgroups. The SHARD system

provides a comprehensive classification scheme to alleviate the problems that come from the plethora of classification systems had been applied to historic assemblages (Anthropological Research Centre 2008). The use of SHARD within this thesis aims to ensure that the interpretation of the use of an artifact is critically analysed before being placed into a functional group.

The main functional groups used in this thesis are based on Kennedy's categories which are Personal, Hygiene, Household Maintenance and Furnishings, Household Industry, Food Preparation and Consumption, Social and Recreation and Indulgence, Education and Communication, Architectural, Agricultural and Animal Husbandry, Defence and Hunting, Fishing and Trapping, and Unclassifiable (Kennedy, personal communication 2015c). To these categories was added *Transportation* due to the presence of such artifacts in the site assemblage (Anthropological Research Centre 2008; Enns-Kavanagh 2002; Table 4.1).

Four of the functional group names were changed and two other groups was added to Kennedy's original classification (2015). The Household Industry group was changed to *Household Production and Maintenance* while the Social, Recreational and Indulgence group was changed to *Social and Recreational*. The word Industry was changed to *Production and Maintenance* because the word industry in Historical Archaeology can imply a money-making activity or a factory-like setting. The inclusion of the word *Maintenance* to the functional group title better fits the subgroup of sewing and repair. The Household Maintenance and Furnishings title was reduced to *Household Furnishings* to shorten the title, as well as separate it from *Household Production and Maintenance* group. The use of the word Indulgence was renamed due to its modern negative connotation to the historical phenomena in this assemblage. Each activity must be assessed for how it was viewed contemporaneously in a broader societal and homestead context before an interpretation of the archaeological assemblage. The Hygiene group name in Kennedy's classification system was changed to *Health and Hygiene* to contain its subgroups. The *Transportation* group and subgroups of *Cycling* and *Mechanized* were added to the functional and functional subgroups due to the presence of artifacts representative of these categories. Due to the inclusion of faunal material in the functional groups a new group, *Unaltered*, was added to contain all of the fauna when it was not known whether it was a direct result of human actions or not.

Most of the subgroups used to classify the artifacts are from Kennedy's (2015) work, so only the differences will be discussed (Table 4.1). The subgroup of Horse Tack was renamed *Animal Care and Tack* to include an animal water bowl. *Household Hardware* applies to items such as glass tiles that are both decorative and yet also hold a function in the home (Enns-Kavanagh 2002). The *Grooming* subgroup in *Household Furnishings* included artifacts like mirrors (Anthropological Research Centre 2008). The *Sewing* subgroup saw *Repair* added to its title because sewing can be a creation or a repair activity. *Laundry* was also added as a subgroup in the group of *Household Production and Maintenance* due to evidence in the archaeological assemblage. The *Subsistence* subgroup was added in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* group because it allows a holistic approach to the assemblage without the food being separated (Enns-Kavanagh 2002, Jones 1997). Other food-related subgroups that were added include *Food Production* and *Cooking Ware* due to archaeological evidence presence at the site (Enns-Kavanagh 2002). *Toiletries* as a subgroup was added to *Health and Hygiene* due to a container that may have held a variety of products. *Social and Recreational* group also had the inclusion of two subgroups which are *Alcohol Consumption* and *Games* due to their presence at the site (Enns-Kavanagh 2002). *Accoutrements* were added to the *Personal* group due to the presence of an eye-glass case. The subgroups were organized to facilitate flow between subgroups of different categories (Kennedy 2015c).

4.3 FbNn-14

The excavation of FbNn-14 supervised by Dr. Margaret Kennedy took place from July 12 to August 20, 2007 with the help of three hired assistants (Kennedy 2007; 2017). Excavations were carried out with 50 cm by 50 cm units as the standard test unit across the site (Kennedy 2017). If a unit was productive then another one was opened adjacent to it. The site consisted of four depressions labelled Depression A to Depression D as well as four foundations labelled Foundation 1 to Foundation 4 (Figure 4.1). Artifacts were recovered in 2007 from five different areas of the site that include: Depression A, Depression B, Depression C, Depression D, Foundation 2, and Foundation 3. Most of the artifacts came from Depression A, which was likely the primary disposal area at the site. Materials found in Depression A appear to be the result of a clean-up after the farm was abandoned, a supposition determined by the morphology of the pit and the diverse nature of artifacts that were recovered (Kennedy, personal communication 2014).

Clinker, ash and charcoal were found throughout Depression A which was assumed to be the result of stove cleanup (Kennedy and Pollio 2015; Pollio 2010). Also, gopher burrows were noticed in the excavated units, adding bioturbation to site formation processes, a characteristic seen at many sites on the prairies.

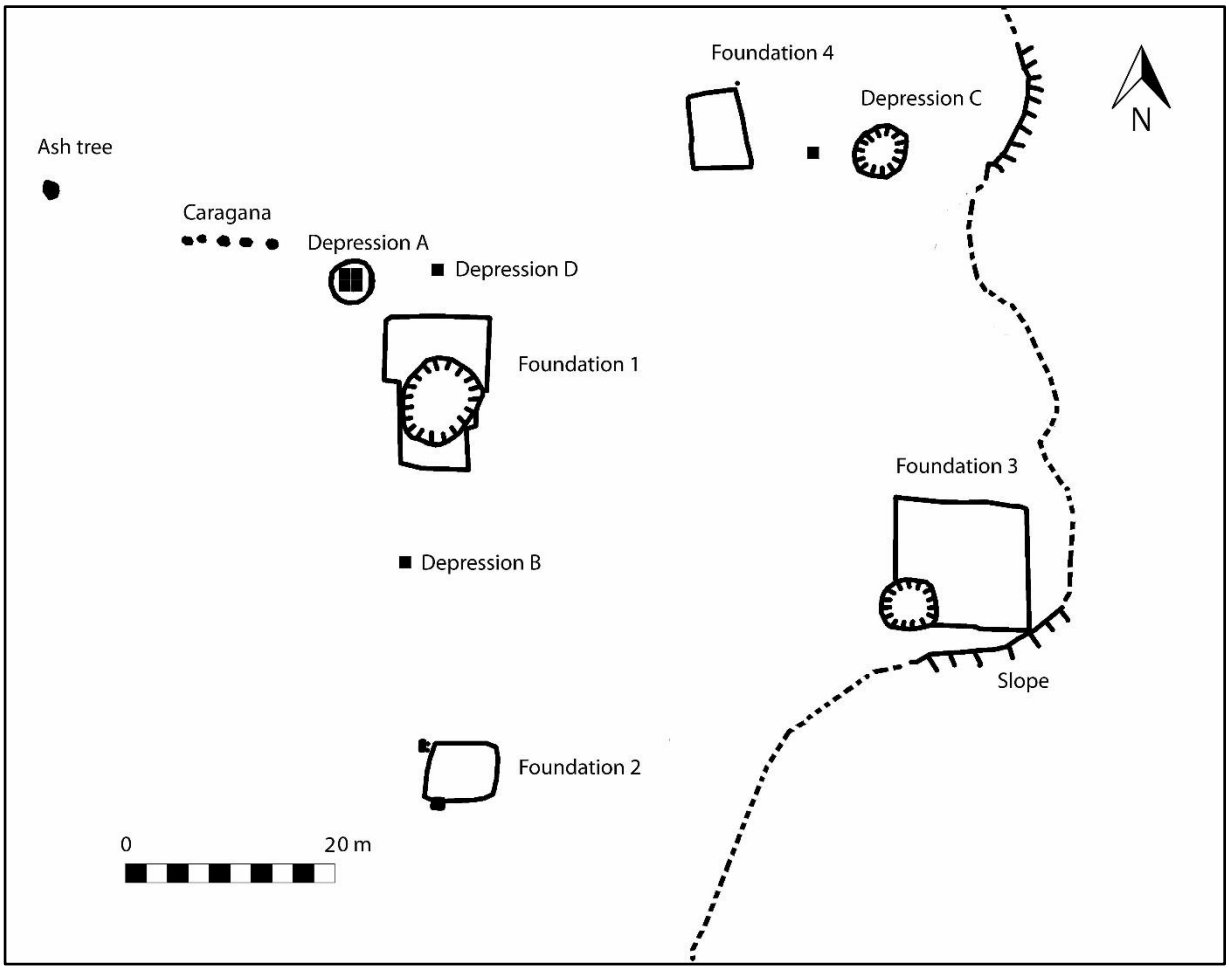

Figure 4.1: Plan view of FbNn-14 (Based on a map surveyed by Kennedy 2007).

4.3.1 Depression A

Depression A is a 3.5 m diameter pit and is located about 2.5 m to the northwest of Foundation 1, likely the house at the site (Figure 4.1; Appendix A). In Depression A, a total of 11,712 artifacts, 98.32% of the site's artifact assemblage, were excavated (Table 4.2). Depression A was excavated through six 1 x 1m units: 67N 31E, 67N 32E, 68N 30E, 68N 31E, 69N 30E, and 69N 31E. Another two units at 68N 32E and 69N 32E only had the western halves of the units excavated. Due to all functional groups and sub-functional groups being present in

Depression A, the deposit cannot be interpreted solely as a household garbage dump. The mixing of items like agricultural implements with household ceramics in the same stratigraphic layers in Depression A suggests that it was created in a single event. The evidence that Depression A was created in a single, post abandonment event comes from the identification of mixed stratigraphic layers, the presence of an upside-down stove at the bottom of the depression feature and the fact that the feature contained the widest variety and greatest number of artifacts of any excavated feature in the site.

4.3.2 Depression B

Depression B is located approximately midway between Foundation 1 and Foundation 2 and is 1.0 m in diameter (Figure 4.1). Two excavation units were dug in Depression B. The first unit was labeled Test 1 while the second one, located at 44N 35E of the baseline only had the northwest quadrant excavated. Thirty artifacts (0.25% of the archaeological assemblage) were excavated from Depression B (Table B.1).

4.3.3 Depression C

Depression C was tested on August 1 to determine what was in the small depression (Figure 4.1). It is located 9.0 m west of Foundation 4. The excavation unit 78.5N 70.6E was a 50 by 50 cm that yielded one artifact or 0.01% of the archaeological assemblage (Appendix B Table B.2).

4.3.4 Depression D

Depression D is located 4.0 m north of Foundation 1 and 20.0 m west of Depression A (Figure 4.1). It is approximately one meter square in which the northwestern quadrant of unit 69N 37.5E was excavated. Fifty-eight artifacts were found making up 0.49% of the archaeological assemblage (Table B.3).

Table 4.2: The Functional Groups Breakdown of Artifacts from Depression A

Activity Group	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing	73	0.62%	
	Footwear	56	0.48%	
	Adornment	32	0.27%	
	Accoutrement	1	0.01%	1.39%
Health and Hygiene	Medication	37	0.32%	
	Toiletries	9	0.08%	
	Grooming	6	0.05%	0.45%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration	7	0.06%	
	Grooming	14	0.12%	
	Household furniture	5	0.04%	
	Household hardware	53	0.45%	
	Lighting	1491	12.76%	
	Heating	6	0.05%	
	Electrical	1	0.01%	13.50%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry	6	0.05%	
	Sewing and repair	16	0.14%	0.19%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware	791	6.77%	
	Serving ware	15	0.13%	
	Multiple use food storage	174	1.49%	
	Single use food storage	244	2.09%	
	Food production	9	0.08%	
	Subsistence	395	3.38%	13.94%
Social and Recreational	Toys	16	0.14%	
	Games	2	0.02%	
	Music	10	0.09%	
	Smoking	12	0.10%	
	Alcohol consumption	103	0.88%	1.22%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications	5	0.04%	
	Writing	4	0.03%	0.08%
Architectural	Construction hardware	1818	15.56%	
	Door hardware	1	0.01%	
	Window hardware	1744	14.93%	30.50%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack	20	0.17%	
	Fencing	89	0.76%	
	Farm implement	28	0.24%	
	Farm machinery	46	0.39%	1.57%
Defence and Hunting	Arms	1	0.01%	
	Ammunition	39	0.33%	0.34%
Transportation	Mechanized	4	0.03%	
	Cycling	1	0.01%	0.04%
Unaltered	Faunal	999	8.55%	
	Organic	20	0.17%	
	Shell	5	0.04%	8.77%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic	29	0.25%	
	Closure	6	0.05%	
	Foil	3	0.02%	
	Glass	1185	10.14%	
	Glass bottle	602	5.15%	
	Glass container	211	1.81%	
	Leather	23	0.20%	
	Leather and metal	1	0.01%	
	Metal	417	3.57%	
	Metal and rubber	1	0.01%	
	Metal container	517	4.42%	
	Metal fastener	71	0.61%	
	Paper	27	0.23%	
	Paint	5	0.04%	
	Plastic	4	0.03%	
	Rubber	73	0.62%	
	Textile	99	0.85%	28.01%
Total		11682	100%	100%

4.3.5 Foundation 2

Foundation 2 is the most southerly building at the site and is almost directly south of Foundation 1 (Figure 4.1). The excavation of Foundation 2 took place with units 23N 38E and 28N 37E being excavated. A total of 117 artifacts or 0.92% of the artifacts from the archaeological assemblage was recovered from Foundation 2 (Table B.4).

4.3.6 Foundation 3

Foundation 3 is located 2.5 m south of Foundation 1 and 10.0 m north of Foundation 2 but located 25.0 m to the east (Figure 4.1). This area was not excavated but one surface find was collected from this location (0.01% of the archaeological assemblage) (Table B.5).

4.4 Laboratory Methods

Laboratory methods are briefly described here to illustrate the process used before the artifacts are presented in functional categories. After the excavation of the material, Dr. Kennedy hired different assistants, together with volunteers, who helped with the cleaning, processing and identifying of the artifacts. One volunteer of note was Mr. Ted Douglas of Eatonia who helped Dr. Kennedy identify pieces of agricultural machinery and other items that were difficult to identity.

Reconstruction of the ceramics and some of the glass was undertaken to obtain a Minimum Vessel Count that would more accurately represent the assemblage before pieces were broken or were thrown away (Kennedy 2015a:18). Before the pieces could be refitted each was written on to allow the pieces to be identified after they were refitted. The refitting process was largely carried out by Verna Gallèn from 2009 to 2012. She also reconstructed the ceramics and glass to the extent possible (Kennedy 2015a:19). Largely due to Verna Gallèn's efforts, 388 artifacts were refitted; totalling 194 ceramics, and 188 glass items. Verna Gallèn also identified the vessel forms and ware types for many of the ceramics including the refitted ones.

Between May and December 2015, all the artifacts from the assemblage were examined, photographed, and recorded in detail, thus beginning the author's work. This work included taking measurements, photographs from different angles, and adjustments to the artifact catalogue. Adjustments to the artifact catalogue allowed specific items to be found more easily

by the addition of columns to the catalogue. For example, one of the columns was for mends so that every artifact that fit together could be easily counted. A column was also inserted for pattern similarities to aid in standardization and pattern counts. Another column for artifact subtype was added after the artifact type column, allowing a more precise identification of artifacts. An extensive collection of photographs was taken providing a photographic record of the artifacts in their current condition. The more fragile artifacts, such as the tin cans or rings, continue to disintegrate so the photographs will serve as a record of their condition at the time they were catalogued. The photographs provide a reference indicating that the artifacts were recorded properly no matter the time or location.

The next step was defining artifact categories and standardization in the catalogue. The process took place between January and November 2016. Since many people had worked on the assemblage before the author (as noted earlier), the standardization of categorization was required. Research was also done on artifacts to verify that the parts were identified properly and could therefore yield accurate information. Functional groups and their contents were also standardized through this process.

A note should be made about the artifacts that were not found in the lab but had been documented during excavation. There are 40 artifacts (0.33%) that have been misplaced from the time they were excavated to the artifact analysis for this thesis. The information in the original catalogue was kept for those artifacts so they have not been totally overlooked. Most of the ceramics that could not be found likely were refit with others, but not noted as having been refit so their location is unknown.

The *Unclassifiable* category was used for artifacts that were very small, in these cases it is difficult to determine their function (i.e., <5 cm). Their inclusion into another group would have confused the counts and percentages in the categories. However, if a piece was under 5 cm in size but contained diagnosable features it might still be identifiable. For example, if a small glass fragment possessed an embossed measuring scale it might indicate it was part of a medicine bottle. See Section 4.6.12 for further discussion about functional subgroups in the *Unclassifiable* category.

4.5 Artifact Classification

Since than 98.78% of the artifacts came from Depression A, all the artifacts in the assemblages will be analyzed together as opposed to discussing each feature where artifacts were found separately. In each group, artifacts of note, if they are not from Depression A, will be singled out.

4.5.1 Personal

Most of the items in this category include different kinds of clothing closures such as: buttons (n=39), shoes grommets (n=46), beads (n=17), belt pieces (9; MNI=3), snaps (n=6), corset pieces (n=3), a hook (n=1) and a zipper (n=1) (Table 4.3). The word 'Eaton' is found on five buttons indicating that the articles of clothes that these buttons were attached were ordered from the Eaton's catalogue. Due to the organic nature of clothes and generally poor preservation of such articles, these artifacts give us indirect information about the clothes worn at the site.

Table 4.3: Personal Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Sub-Groups	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Clothing	73	0	0	0	0	0	73	44.79%
Footwear	56	0	0	1	0	0	57	34.97%
Adornment	32	0	0	0	0	0	32	19.63%
Accoutrements	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.61%
Total	162	0	0	1	0	0	163	100.00%

At least four unique sets of suspender clips were recovered from the site (Figure 4.2). Suspenders were extensively used for approximately 100 years from c.1820s to early twentieth century and are a by-product of mass production of clothes (Suddath 2010). Even though most of the male population wore suspenders in the early twentieth century, they become a standard item for conservative Mennonite male clothing later (Carlson, Marjorie, and Levin 1998:540). The suspender clips vary in manufacturing techniques suggesting at the very least different firms produced them. Therefore, the variety of styles in suspender clips may indicate Mennonite purchasing habits, as well as being a diagnostic of the time when the site was occupied.

Figure 4.2: The different kinds of suspender clips at FbNn-14 (Left to right: FbNn-14:4416, 7237, 1063, and 8056) (Wight 2015).

Some items recovered from the site have a more personal or adornment nature to them. There are two rings in the assemblage, one of which is a single-stone setting ring. Ten items in the assemblage were identified as hair pins, of which nine are bobby pins. The most beautiful item is the decorative hair pin that has a four-stone setting (Figure 4.3). The piece is still quite sparkly, suggesting a desire and ability to wear 'showy' pieces.

Figure 4.3: Decorative hair pin showing personal adornment, FbNn-14:10423 (Wight 2015).

The accoutrement category includes an eye glass case that is quite fragile and currently in approximately ten pieces. It consists of a metal container with an interior textile padding. This indirect evidence of glasses shows an access to optometry care with the ability to purchase glasses if not visit an eye doctor. Glasses can be helpful for reading or generally improving the life quality of the wearer, and their presence shows the importance this to the individuals who lived at FbNn-14.

4.5.2 Health and Hygiene

There are 37 identified medicine bottles in the assemblage (Table 4.4). The measuring increments on the back side of these bottles were used as the identifier as medicine bottles for those that did not have writing on them. Most the bottles cannot be identified to a company. However, those that could be identified consisted of six Dr. Peter Faharney bottles (one of which once contained Mountain Blood Vitamin Revitalizer), three Rawleigh bottles, two J. R. Watkins bottles, two Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound bottles, one Miss Winslow's Soothing Syrup compound and one bottle of Dr. S. N. Thomas Eclectric Oil. Most of these are patent medicines and therefore, are proof of self-medication in the household.

Table 4.4: Health and Hygiene Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Medicine	37	0	0	1	0	0	38	71.70
Toiletries	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	16.98%
Grooming	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	11.32%
Total	52	0	0	1	0	0	53	100.00%

The Grooming category consists of at least three different combs and two razor pieces, the latter of which shows the maintenance of male facial hair. There are also nine artifacts that are toiletries. Three of these are milk glass ointment pots and six powder tin cans. The original contents of these containers are largely unknown due to the lack of labels. One of the powder tin cans did have a label intact which identified the contents as Talc powder made by Jonteel (Figure 4.4). The Jonteel Talc powder was launched in 1917 with packaging similar to the one within the archaeological assemblage (Figure 4.5). These artifacts indicate that there was an interest in personal presentation.

4.5.3 Household Furnishings

Household decoration allows a glimpse into the ways these Mennonites decorated their houses (Table 4.5). One item that is quite unique is a glass dog that has a pink collar (Figure 4.6). The figurine might indicate that at least one individual who lived here liked dogs. There is also a metal figurine of a man and two different glass vases. The presence of a photograph frame, a mirror, and the dog figurine show that the Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 did not prefer the austere decoration style, eg. white walls, lack of colour, which has been noted to have fallen out of fashion in Manitoba around 1900 (Sawatzky 2005:172).

Figure 4.4: Jonteel tin can, FbNn-14:8446 (Wight 2015).

Figure 4.5: Jonteel tin advertisement ca.1917 (Vintage Ad Browser 1917).

Table 4.5: Household Maintenance Furnishings Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Household decoration	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.44%
Grooming	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0.89%
Household furniture	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.32%
Household hardware	53	0	0	0	0	0	53	3.35%
Heating	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.38%
Lighting	1491	0	5	0	0	0	1495	94.56%
Electrical	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.06%
Total	1577	0	5	0	0	0	1582	100.00%

Figure 4.6: FbNn-14:2305, glass dog figurine (Wight 2015)

Many other items deserve a quick mention in this functional group. There are eleven keys that relate to doors or other locks on the homestead property (Figure 4.7). The number seems like too many keys for a homestead, even considering that there were at least two families lived at the site. There are five small pieces of metal that hint at household furniture. Mirror pieces show that someone in the house decided that personal presentation was important. The presence of glass tile indicates both decorative elements as well as functional ones.

Figure 4.7: The four different keys found in the assemblage (L to R top row: FbNn-14:6645 and 9377; L to R bottom row: FbNn-14:8062 and 8074) (Wight 2015).

The presence of electrical wire in the assemblage indicates that the individuals who lived here had the use of electricity, demonstrating that this technology was being adopted or used to the advantage of those living in the household. The barn probably would be lit by electricity to lengthen the work day and also facilitate night checks. The house was probably not wired for electrical lighting. Instead oil lamps filled by kerosene were used since there are 1,499 pieces of chimney lamp glass present in the assemblage and no lightbulb pieces. A total of 140 of these fragments are finish fragments in three different colours and four different rim styles indicating a number of different lamp shades were present at the site, as well as oil lamp ventilators.

There were seven different pieces of cast iron kitchen stoves in the assemblage and two pieces have company names on them. The two manufacturers of the stoves are J. & O. McClary in London, Ontario and Burrow, Stewart, & Milne Company of Hamilton, Ontario (Graham 2017; Thomson 2017). The presence of material from two different stove companies at the site suggests that either two different sets of occupants lived at the site or that two different buildings were heated.

4.5.4 Household Production and Maintenance

There are six springs in the assemblage that appear to be clothes pin springs and thus they were classified under Laundry (Table 4.6). Most of the other artifacts in this group are related to sewing since they include straight pins, safety pins, and sewing needles. There is a shoe cast in the assemblage as well, which demonstrates a need and an ability to repair shoes and implies an attitude of self-reliance.

Table 4.6: Household Production and Maintenance Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Laundry	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	27.27%
Sewing and repair	16	0	0	0	0	0	16	72.73
Total	22	0	0	0	0	0	22	100.00%

4.5.5 Food Preparation and Consumption

Tableware consists of 810 artifacts most of which are ceramics except for four utensils and one tin can opener (Table 4.7). There are three spoons and one fork in the assemblage indicating a use of cutlery at the homestead. The other 805 artifacts in this group consist of ceramics that are summarized in Table 4.8. This section refers to the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) count. There were 166 MNV or 20.62% that refit.

Table 4.7: Food Storage and Consumption Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Tableware	791	1	4	14	0	0	810	49.00%
Serving ware	15	0	0	0	0	0	15	0.91%
Multiple use food storage	174	0	2	0	0	0	176	10.65%
Single use food storage	244	1	2	0	0	0	247	14.94%
Food production	9	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.54%
Subsistence	395	0	1	0	0	0	396	23.96%
Total	1628	2	9	14	0	0	1654	100.00%

Table 4.8 shows that there are 143 plates in the assemblage while there are only 62 bowls. Twenty-eight bowls or 43.75% of the bowls are refit compared to the 34 plates or 23.76% that are refit. Even though more of the bowls are refit, the quantity of plates still would greatly out number the bowls if they were complete. The preference for plates indicates that more of the food made in the household required flatware. Even though soups and stews were made at the house, they may not have been as prevalent as dry foods; looking at Mennonite cookbooks today and the types of dishes which are commonly prepared, this supposition is likely.

Table 4.8 Tableware Subgroup Ceramic Breakdown by Ceramic and Artifact Type

Ceramic Type	Flatware			Hollowware					Unidentified	Total
		Plate	Saucer		Bowl	Cup				
							Mug	Teacup		
Ironstone	1	17	1	3	1	5				28
Porcelain	27	9	75	53	4	70	7	14	31	290
Vitrified white earthenware	55	58	11	45	12	12		4	32	229
White earthenware	34	59	28	23	39	30		1	33	247
Yellowware				3	8					11
Total	117	143	115	127	64	117	7	19	96	805
Summary Totals	375			191		143			96	805

There are also 258 items in the assemblage that can be associated with tea or coffee drinking, whether that be saucers, cups, mugs, or teacups. This high quantity of teacups and mugs, indicates that precipitation in the consumption of tea or coffee beverages was a regular occurrence. The large quantity of porcelain within the tea ware should be noted. The extensive assemblage of teacups and platters suggests that coffee or tea was drunk often and in the company of friends. The huge array of patterns will be described in detail in Chapter 5. The dates for the ceramics will be discussed in Chapter 6. The significance of the tea ware in the FbNn-14 assemblage will be highlighted in both Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

Serving ware is defined as items that aided in the presentation of food. There are six glass bowls, two dishes, two platters, a creamer, a jug, a glass sugar bowl, a tin can opener and a serving spoon in this subgroup in the assemblage. There are also items to aid in tea serving, such as the sugar bowl and creamer. Two decorative delicate platters that were kept for serving sweet or savory baked goods were also recovered. There are also items that would help in serving dinner such as the spoon, a jug for beverages, as well as the ceramic dishes. The metal spoon was made by The Yates Company in Birmingham, England from 1850 to 1892 (Woodhead 1991:285). The creamer was made in Germany. Ceramic companies with material present in the assemblage and production dates will be discussed the Chapter 5.

Multiple use food storage consists of glass jars that could be reused and jars used for canning. The large quantity of them may, in part, have to do with the fragile nature of the glass and metal that make up the bottles. They also demonstrate the extensive amount of canning that took place at the site, reinforcing the view that the household had a self-sufficient attitude. In the

assemblage, there appear to be nine Gem jars that were made by Dominion Glass in Canada from 1913 to the 1960s and one Boyd's Genuine Porcelain Cap jar cap that was were made from 1873 to the 1950s (Lockhart, Schriever and Lindsey 2015; Whitten 2016). Ceramic stoneware crocks are also placed in the multiple use food storage subgroup due to their primary use for food storage and preservation (Cheek 2016). There is a minimum number of five different crocks or bowls in the assemblage, and they are made of three different ware types, stoneware, vitrified white earthenware, and white earthenware. Some of the stoneware crocks even have subtle blue decoration on them.

Tin cans of the right shape to hold food make up the single use food storage subgroup, of which 166 are circular cans, 51 are rectangular cans, 15 are bottle caps, eight are tin can keys, five are tin can caps, and three are spice cans. The only product name found on a can in the assemblage is Keen's Mustard. These cans were single use and then tossed away, this large quantity indicates that processed food supplemented the diet of those living on the homestead. The quantity of cans suggests an ability to buy them and regular interaction with local stores.

The food production subgroup consists of six metal funnels, two probable mixing bowls and a coffee percolator. The funnels are from a cream separator, indicating members of the household processed raw dairy products. Thus, funnels imply that animals that produce milk were present on the farm, the mostly likely candidates being cows. Once again, the presence of a cream separator at the site indicates an attitude of self-reliance. The presence of the two yellowware mixing bowls suggests that baking took place on the site as well.

Some evidence of food is also present in the assemblage consisting of two different categories: floral and faunal. The floral consists of 79 items: 76 plum pits, two peach pits, and one pumpkin seed. The quantity of plum seeds may imply a plum tree was planted on the site or at the very least, the household had access to the fruit. The faunal items consist of 314 individual pieces of bone having cut marks or other alterations such as evidence of burning. For a more-in-depth look at the faunal material from the site, see Kennedy and Pollio 2015, which is a detailed report on the faunal material recovered from FbNn-14. There is evidence of burning on some of the bone which could relate to post-depositional burning or a part of the cooking process during site occupation. Unfortunately, the burning on the bones made much of the faunal assemblage unidentifiable (Pollio 2010). There are 65 cut marks present on the bones, which demonstrates that all levels of animal processing from butchering to disposal of bones took place on the site

(Pollio 2010). Pollio concludes that animals were easily accessible either via farm animals or the local environment (2010). Therefore, the people at the homestead were once again self-reliant and used their environment to help fill out their diet.

4.5.6 Social and Recreational

There are sixteen items that are labeled as children's toys as well as two game pieces (Table 4.9). Four of the toys are miniature tea sets including a teacup and a couple of saucers. Eight pieces of ceramic dolls were found in the assemblage, due to colour similarities, these pieces are likely from only two dolls. One doll is a soft-paste porcelain and the other is parian porcelain. Four balls are also present. There is a toy gun that likely dates to the 1920s-1930s (Best 1973; Figure 4.8). These toys tell us about the raising of children in the Mennonite homestead, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.9: Social and Recreational Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Toys	16	0	0	0	0	0	16	10.74%
Games	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.34%
Music	10	0	0	0	0	0	10	6.71%
Smoking	12	0	0	0	0	0	12	8.05%
Alcohol consumption	103	0	0	6	0	0	109	73.16%
Total	143	0	0	6	0	0	149	100.00%

Figure 4.8: Toy gun, FbNn-14:10109 (Wight 2015)

There are 10 parts of a harmonica in the assemblage, demonstrating the enjoyment of music at the site. A maker's mark was found on one piece and country of origin on another,

indicating that the harmonica(s) was made by the 'Hohner Company' in Germany after 1881 (Harmonica Brands 2017). Another form of entertainment present in the assemblage is represented by two small game pieces, one of which is a chess piece.

The presence of pipes and alcohol bottles at the site demonstrates that members of the should engaged in leisure activities occurred at the site. Twelve pieces of smoking pipe are present in the FbNn-14 assemblage; five of these have bowls. Smoking was a popular pastime in the early twentieth century and as cigarettes dominated the post-World War I market, most of the pipes probably date before this time (Walker 1970). Many of the glass bottle fragments could not be refitted probably due to the tendency of glass to shatter as opposed to breaking up into pieces that can be mended, as is the case for ceramics. A total of 102 pieces of beer bottles are present yet there are only 12 finish fragments. Therefore, the minimum vessel count is likely 12. Two bottles labelled as 'spirit' or 'liquor', indicate that hard liquor was present at FbNn-14. Five almost complete wine bottles also were found at the site. Two of the wine bottles, once refit, were comprised of 19 pieces each in the assemblage, once again demonstrating the fragile nature of glass and that the alcohol bottle numbers are highly inflated. Therefore, even though wine and harder liquor were consumed at FbNn-14, most alcohol consumed at this homestead was beer.

4.5.7 Education and Communication

Fifteen items in the assemblage represent communication (Table 4.10). Four pieces of insulator and one part of a telephone battery indicates the presence of a telephone at some point during occupation. The presence of a phone shows a desire for immediate engagement as opposed to waiting until seeing people in person.

Table 4.10: Education and Communication Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Telecommunications	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	55.56%
Writing	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	44.44%
Total	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	100.00%

Literacy at the site is indicated by two pencil leads, paper and a Waterman's Company ink bottle (Figure 4.9). These findings are not surprising due to the homestead's occupation during the twentieth century in Canada when public education was available. The Mennonites were also

a highly-educated group of people who encouraged reading to allow every individual the ability to read scripture themselves (Loewen 1999).

Figure 4.9: Base of Waterman's ink bottle, FbNn-14:5019 (Wight 2015).

One of the most unusual items from the site is a *Strombus alatus* shell, which was cut in half and has a message recorded inside (Figure 4.10). Unfortunately, only the word 'Greetings' is legible. Part of the message is in English but another part may be in German given the discernible letter combinations. The shell itself is native to the Gulf of Mexico; the combination of the shell and the message demonstrates that the inhabitants at the very least knew individuals who visited distant places. The written-on shell also connects with Mennonite history since after 1922 many Mennonites moved to Mexico from Canada, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee 1995).

4.5.8 Architectural

Thirty percent of the archaeological assemblage at FbNn-14 is architectural, consisting of nails and pieces of window glass (Table 4.11). Other items in the architecture category include: a door knob, hinges, bolts, and screws. Although these items indicate that at least one structure was present at the site, due to their lack of archaeologically study, they do not yield much

additional information. Since wire nails make up 97.54% of the nails on the site, site occupation can be assigned a post-1900 date (Adams 2002:79-84). Since this is already known, the nails are not helpful when dating sites that date to the homestead period of the Canadian Prairies.

Figure 4.10: *Strombus alatus* shell with written message inside, FbNn-14:12752 (Wight 2015).

Table 4.11: Architectural Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Construction hardware	1818	8	15	20	0	0	1861	51.37%
Door hardware	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.03%
Window hardware	1744	0	17	0	0	0	1761	48.60%
Total	3563	8	32	20	0	0	3623	100.00%

4.5.9 Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Information about the nature of the farm at FbNn-14 is indicated through the artifacts of Agriculture and Animal Care (Table 4.12). At least one full set of horse tack was recovered, including buggy pieces, halter, loose ring snaffle bit, horse shoe, driving harness, and tack buckles. In the early twentieth century, horses were the main source of transportation and worked the land, hence their inclusion in this category.

Table 4.12: Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Animal care and tack	20	0	0	1	0	0	21	11.00%
Fencing	89	1	0	1	0	0	91	47.64%
Farm implement	28	1	0	2	0	0	31	16.23%
Farm machinery	46	0	0	2	0	0	48	25.13%
Total	183	2	0	6	0	0	191	100.00%

There are several items in the assemblage that show a degree of animal care. The first is a syringe found in Foundation 2 (Unit 23N 38E). The second is a horse medication called Absorbine which was produced by W.F. Young to relieve muscle pain from the skin surface. These two products indicate a knowledge of animal medication and concern for animal health.

Barbed wire, fence staples and pen closures shows that animals were kept in pastures as well as the barn. Most of the farm implements are parts of pails or tools. The presence of a whetstone on the farmstead demonstrates a need to sharpen tools and an attitude of self-reliance. A shaft brace was used to mend a wooden shaft on a piece of farm machinery when it cracked (D. Wight personal communication 2016). The attitude of self-reliance in this category is indicated by basic ability to repair items when the standard wear and tear happened.

Of the 46 identified pieces of farm machinery, six can be associated with a specific type of equipment. The machine parts found at FbNn-14 include those of a binder, cultivator, discer (probably two different models), manure spreader, mower, and seed drill. These pieces of farm machinery provide a holistic picture of farming from tilling the land with a discer, maintaining of the land with a cultivator and a manure spreader, planting with the seed drill and cutting or collecting crops with a binder and a mower (Hurt 1982). The manure spreader was the only machine with evidence of whether it was drawn by a horse or a tractor; it appears to have been horse drawn. The advanced wear and misshapen nature of artifacts from each of these machines indicates that they were well used. It is probable that not all the machines that were used on the property are represented in the archaeological assemblage. Despite this, there was quite an extensive assemblage of farm machinery at this site relating to many different farming activities.

4.5.10 Defence and Hunting

A double barrel shot gun was found at the site directly indicating that guns were present on the farm (Table 4.13). Of the 40 cartridge casings found on site, 26 were made by the Dominion

Cartridge Company of Montreal, Quebec that operated from 1885-1945 (Steinhauer 2016). One cartridge case found in Level 13 of unit 68N 32E in Depression A is from the Des Moines Ordnance Plant in Iowa that was in operation from 1942-1945 (Stratton 2012). Guns would have been needed to shoot wild animals preying on farm animals. They also could be used to hunt wild animals and to kill farm animals in preparation for butchering.

Table 4.13: Defence and Hunting Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Arms	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.00%
Ammunition	39	0	0	1	0	0	40	2.50%
Total	40	0	0	1	0	0	40	100.00%

4.5.11 Transportation

Transportation includes items that indicate movement around the farm, as well as travelling to other locations (Table 4.14). An oil can does suggest the maintenance of a mechanized vehicle whether that was a car or a piece of farm equipment. A possible rubber mud guard from a car wheel well is also present at the site. The only artifact related to a bicycle is a bike bell.

Table 4.14: Transportation Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Mechanized	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	80.00%
Cycling	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	20.00%
Total	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	100.00%

4.5.12 Unaltered

The *Unaltered* category consists of artifacts that are not directly created by humans (Table 4.15). These items, such as faunal specimens, were separated out since there was no direct evidence for human alteration. Even though it is possible or probable that most of these specimens were parts of food eaten by humans, they do not bear direct evidence of such, thus their placement here instead of in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* functional group. There are 583 pieces of fish bone in the assemblage from four different species. As the fish bones are small, they do not appear to have been cut for consumption. Also in this category are five clam shells whose contents could have been eaten as well. The *Unaltered* subgroup consists

of 20 unidentified seeds that could also be associated with foods that were consumed by the inhabitants of the homestead.

Table 4.15: Unaltered Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Unaltered faunal	999	11	0	4	0	0	1015	97.56%
Unaltered organic	20	0	0	0	0	0	20	1.95%
Unaltered shell	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.49%
Total	1024	11	0	4	0	0	1040	100.00%

4.5.13 Unclassifiable

The *Unclassifiable* category accounts for 28.21% of the artifact assemblage from this site (Table 4.16). The material is divided into artifact types with the intent of defining the material since functional groups and subgroups cannot be given for them. These artifacts are not sorted into functional categories due to their small size, as well as lacking attributes that showed a specific function. For example, the glass container subgroup contains pieces whose functions could not be discerned as to a bottle or a jar. The subgroup of metal fasteners includes anything from a tack to a nail but unfortunately the ones included here are too rusted or warped to determine what they are exactly. Unclassifiable ceramic includes ceramic pieces too small (given a size of 5 cm or smaller) to determine any kind of a vessel or use. The closure subgroup includes bottle corks but the kind of bottle they originate from cannot be determined.

Table 4.16: Unclassifiable Functional Subgroup Artifact Breakdown

Functional Subgroup	Depression A	Depression B	Depression D	Foundation 2	Depression C	Foundation 3	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup
Unclassifiable ceramic	29	0	1	0	0	0	30	0.89%
Unclassifiable closure	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.18%
Unclassifiable foil	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.09%
Unclassifiable glass	1185	1	5	23	0	0	1214	36.22%
Unclassifiable glass bottle	602	0	2	18	0	1	623	18.58%
Unclassifiable glass container	211	0	0	0	0	0	211	6.30%
Unclassifiable leather	23	0	0	0	0	0	23	0.69%
Unclassifiable leather and metal	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0.06%
Unclassifiable metal	417	3	0	13	0	0	433	12.92%
Unclassifiable metal and rubber	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.03%
Unclassifiable metal container	517	2	1	0	0	0	520	15.51%
Unclassifiable metal fastener	71	1	0	1	0	0	73	2.18%
Unclassifiable paper	27	0	0	0	0	0	27	0.80%
Unclassifiable paint	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.15%
Unclassifiable plastic	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.12%
Unclassifiable rubber	73	0	3	2	0	0	78	2.33%
Unclassifiable textile	99	0	0	0	0	0	99	2.95%
Total	3274	7	12	57	1	1	3352	100.00%

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the functional groups used for this study and described their use in the Historical Archaeology classification. The 13 functional groups and 60 subgroups used for classifying this assemblage allowed for the placement of the 11,882 artifacts that were recovered from FbNn-14, shedding insight about the activities that took place at the homestead. Laboratory methods were also discussed to help the reader understand the parameters of artifact classification and the type of data that can be obtained from the site. Important artifacts or artifacts of interest that were highlighted in this chapter and will be discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. This will aid in further interpretation of the FbNn-14 homestead and the individuals who lived there.

Chapter 5
Ceramic Decoration in the FbNn-14 Archaeological Assemblage

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the most studied of historical artifacts, ceramics, in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage. Why are ceramics of importance to archaeologists? First, ceramics do not disintegrate when they are buried in ground. While many different materials like textiles or other organics degrade, ceramics are usually not damaged by being buried in the ground, and thus are available to be studied by archaeologists. Thus, ceramics are prevalent and present at almost, if not every, residential historical archaeological site. Another factor that leads to ceramics being present in some quantity at archaeological sites due to their breakable nature. Since is easier to replace the ceramic than to repair it, ceramics tend to be discarded quite frequently.

Many of the ceramics have maker's marks on them, making many ceramics traceable to specific factories, years, and patterns. Tracing the origins of specific ceramics aids in understanding international connections of the household to the global market economy. Since these items were mass produced, they appear in catalogues allowing historical archaeologists to find prices for them at different times. The expense of an assemblage's ceramics gives an archaeologist a comparison for the cost of the artifacts compared to other items in the catalogue. Ceramics could be purchased in various sizes as dining sets or tea ware sets, or as individual pieces. When analyzing an archaeological assemblage, the extent to which the same or various patterns are present in the site can inform whether the inhabitants of the household thought it was important to have matching sets of ceramics. This can yield interpretations about dining practices in the household as well as purchasing patterns. Therefore, ceramics yield considerable

information about cost, point of origin, and dates of creation, that facilitate an archaeologist's understanding of a specific assemblage and its related archaeological site.

Ceramics can allow archaeologists to understand a household's food storage methods, the food consumed, and societal ideologies around meal eating. Analysis of different vessel forms can help determine if individuals had matching sets, ate more liquid-based foods than solid foods, or consumed specific items such as tea. For example, individual place settings versus communal dishes show very different societal values (Deetz 1977). Various types of ceramics were developed for different uses. For example, stoneware was used for food storage and preparation in the pre-refrigeration age (Cheek 2016).

The highly decorated nature of ceramics with a variety of patterns and images indicates that each ceramic assemblage was customized to the personal preferences of the owners. A standard image or motif reproduced on a mass produced ceramic vessel will hold different meanings for different people or social groups, revealing different cultural values (Rodriguez and Brooks 2012). In addition to serving ware, ceramics also can be displayed as art or decorative pieces in a home to show status or to commemorate special events. Since ceramics consist of various patterns, vessel forms, decoration methods, and types, they can be compared and contrasted, yielding important information about the individuals who owned and used them.

In this chapter the ceramics patterns that will be discussed are both those that appear most frequently and those items that are more unique. The patterns, decoration motifs, colours, and shapes of the ceramics help indicate possible personal preferences of the inhabitants of FbNn-14. Many shards of the same vessel types demonstrate a frequency of use. Therefore, a discussion of ceramics is important to understand both the food practices and social behaviour in the context of the household.

5.2 Introduction to the FbNn-14 Ceramics

The ceramics discussed in this section, are found in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* (n=863), and consist of 863 pieces or shards that could not be repaired or refitted to any other. The other 42 ceramics found outside the *Food Preparation and Consumption* group are: dolls, caps, vessels, or unidentifiable. *Food Preparation and Consumption* ceramics represent 95.35% of all the ceramics in the assemblage.

The focus on the decoration of ceramics in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* group also signifies the importance of food, meals, and the focus on the family partaking of meals (Wall 1994). Also, decorated items cost more than plain wares. More money must be spent on them. Therefore, the way that a family spends their resources can be interpreted in part analysis of these ceramics (Miller 1980;1991; Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993; Spencer-Wood 1987a). Conscious decisions about the ware type, and decoration is dependent on social peers, *habitus* or other external influences as mentioned in Chapter 3. Fancier items in the household could be placed on display when they were not being used. Using the items in front of guests or even everyday would be a form of display.

The study of *Food Preparation and Consumption* ceramics in Historical Archaeology is quite extensive so this analysis of these specific ceramics fits well into the wider treatment of ceramics within scholarship (Cabak and Loring 2000; Gibson 2010; Myers 2016). Ceramic decoration has been extensively studied (Bowser 2000; Brennan 1982; Cheek 2016). The inferred meaning and incorporation of mass produced British ceramics into households has been studied to understand the influences of differing expressions of class, global location or food practices (Burley 1989; Cabak and Loring 2000; Graver 2015; Rodríguez and Brooks 2012; Ross 2011; Smith 2003). Patterned ceramics could be purchased quite cheaply through catalogues during the early twentieth century (T. Eaton Company Limited 1912-1913). So, what patterned ceramics were in the FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage? Two hundred and two ceramics were decorated in the FbNn-14 assemblage, representing around one quarter of the assemblage. This patterned material will be discussed below in Section 5.3.

5.3 Ceramic Decorations

There are 52 different patterns on 202 ceramics in the ceramic assemblage of FbNn-14 (Table 5.1; Appendix C). There are 23 repeating patterns in the assemblage. A repeating pattern here means that the pattern was found on at least two pieces that did not mend. Therefore, they, for the purpose of this thesis, are counted as separate vessels within the same pattern. Manufacturers often put repeating pattern on different ware types.

Table 5.1: Ceramic Decorative Motif

Motif	Pattern	Quantity	Percentage	Motif	Pattern	Quantity	Percentage
Band and Geometric	A	37	44.06%	**Flower and Leaf**	L	20	40.59%
	B	26			M	12	
	C	6			N	8	
	D	5			O	7	
	E	4			P	6	
	F	4			Q	5	
	G	2			R	2	
	H	2			S	2	
	I	1			T	2	
	J	1			U	2	
	K	1			V	2	
Landscape	KK	10	4.95%		W	1	
Unidentified	LL	4	10.40%		X	1	
	MM	3			Y	1	
	NN	2			Z	1	
	OO	1			AA	1	
	PP	1			BB	1	
	QQ	1			CC	1	
	RR	1			DD	1	
	SS	1			EE	1	
	TT	1			FF	1	
	UU	1			GG	1	
	VV	1			HH	1	
	WW	1			II	1	
	XX	1			JJ	1	
	YY	1		**Total**		202	100%
	ZZ	1					

Three of the patterns, which occur more than once, specifically Patterns A, B and L, each consist of least 20 different vessels and quite probably were set purchases. There are two patterns that were found on ten to fifteen vessels, another 10 patterns were found on three to eight pieces and another 10 patterns are made up of two ceramics each. The repeating patterns make up 86% of the decorated ceramics. Each of these pieces could have been purchased as a set because at least two examples from the same pattern are present in the archaeological assemblage. Of course, not all that were purchased had to end up in the archaeological assemblage (i.e. they may have been removed from the site) and pieces often could be purchased individually rather than from sets.

There are 31 patterns that only are seen once in the assemblage so they were most probably purchased individually. Fifteen of these patterns were identifiable. It is possible that all these patterns were bought as sets and only one was deposited at the FbNn-14. The presence of a single instance of a pattern suggests that a set could be used irregularly, or an infrequency of breakage due to a strong clay body. Sixteen patterns were not complete enough to identify, and thus the discussion of these patterns is not possible.

Colour preference in the assemblage shows a focus on gold, blue and green. Gold is the most-seen colour in the ceramics, with 83 occurrences on the 202 decorated pieces of ceramic. The gold appears often as gilding around the edge of ceramics, adding a flair to plain ceramics or another level of sophistication to patterns. Green and blue are both seen on 23.3% of the decorated ceramics. Green is found in 19 patterns whereas blue is in only nine patterns. The high frequency of green can be attributed to the large number of floral scenes on the ceramics. The other colors found in the FbNn-14 assemblage are: yellow, brown, black, red, silver, aqua, pink, purple, and gray. Some of the silver colouring appears to be faded gold gilding. There are also seven different patterns or 13 instances of uncoloured moulded ceramics that are included in decoration.

The patterns on the ceramics reflect the personal preferences of the homestead occupants. The patterns in the assemblage consist of 25 Flower and Leaf patterns, 11 with Band and Geometric patterns, and one Landscape pattern (Table 5.1). For in-depth pattern descriptions see Appendix C Table C.1. There are also 15 unidentified patterns. There are a couple of patterns that were probably floral, but due to their incomplete nature they were placed in the unidentified category. Leaves were only present without flowers in four single occurrence patterns: Patterns W, EE, II and JJ. Since this number was small, and each of the floral patterns had leaves in them, the Flower and Leaf categories were combined. Bands are solid coloured lines whereas geometric patterns are repeating patterns like moulded relief ribbing. Both bands and geometric patterns are repetitive shape patterns on ceramics done in either colour or molding.

There are 25 individual Flower and Leaf patterns compared to 12 Band and Geometric patterns. Yet 44.06% of the decorated ceramics fall in the Band and Geometric pattern category. Flower and Leaf patterns make up 40.59% of the decorated shards. In the flower motif category, many patterns appear only once, which suggests they were more likely to be purchased individually when compared to the plainer Band and Geometric patterns which were more likely

to be purchased in greater numbers or as sets. This interpretation could be affected by what was disposed of in the archaeological record and therefore is only a general trend. A more detailed discussion of the unique or noteworthy patterns such as the Flower and Leaf and the Landscape pattern will follow in Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 respectively.

5.3.1. Band and Geometric Patterns

The Band and Geometric patterns consist of 11 different patterns which make up 89 of the 202 decorated ceramics. Pattern A and Pattern B, both of which will be discussed in detail in this section, have 63 individual pieces and make up 70.78% of the Band and Geometric patterns in the FbNn-14 assemblage. Three of the Band and Geometric patterns occur only once in the FbNn-14 assemblage. Most common pattern in the assemblage is Pattern A (Figure 5.1). This pattern is found on 37 pieces of porcelain: four cups, six flatware, two hollowware, one mug and 14 saucers. It is also found on vitrified white earthenware: one cup, three flatware, one hollowware, and five plates. The pattern consists of gold gilding on the rim and another band 2.0 cm down from the rim. Four of the pieces have incised marks identifying that the pieces were made in Japan. It is probable that Pattern P (Figure 5.2) is also associated with Pattern A since it is the same pattern with the added presence of a tea-leaf on the ceramic. Pattern P is represented by one cup (a cup is a hollowware that is either a teacup or a mug but it could not be determined which one it was) and two teacups in porcelain while in white earthenware there is one cup, one flatware fragment, and one teacup. The patterns would compliment each other perfectly and would form a large set of 43 pieces made up of two different ware types. This large set would also give the occupants of the household much versatility.

Pattern B (Figure 5.3) consists of 26 white earthenware pieces that indicate 23 bowls and three hollowware pieces. The pattern contains a thick blue band (2.5 cm thick) followed by three smaller blue bands as one moves down the vessel to the base. It is possible that this pattern was made by different producers due to the noticeable variation in the decoration quality. For example, the band size and distance between them is not consistent between different vessels or even sometimes the same vessel. One of the bowls had a maker's mark "W. Adams & Co.". Due to this maker's mark the bowl can be dated post-1891(Godden 1964:21-22).

Pattern C (Figure 5.4) is found on five pieces of stoneware crock and one unidentifiable stoneware piece. The pattern consists of a medium blue band with a dark blue band immediately

below it. Some of the pieces have black writing on them. One other piece in this pattern has a number ‘2’ on it, which indicates that it is a two-quart container. The pattern is quite simple and is restricted to utilitarian material.

Figure 5.1: FbNn-14:9091 which is a fine example of Pattern A (Wight 2015).

Figure 5.2: FbNn-14:2602 a mended porcelain teacup representing Pattern P (Wight 2015).

Figure 5.3: FbNn-14:7301, a white earthenware bowl illustrates Pattern B, although it is the most uneven example of this pattern in the assemblage (Wight 2015).

Figure 5.4: Pattern C shown here on stoneware crock, FbNn-14:126 (Wight 2015).

Pattern D (Figure 5.5) is represented by five pieces of vitrified white earthenware. The pattern is a small, gold band just inside the rim with a small 1.0 cm gap. There is a gilt band surrounded by two thin black lines and another gap followed by another gold band. Interestingly, a few of the pieces of the pattern are discoloured (likely water staining). The form of this piece is not that elaborate but it is quite delicate.

Figure 5.5: Pattern D on vitrified white earthenware saucer, FbNn-14:632 (Wight 2015).

5.3.2 Flower and Leaf Patterns

There are 25 versions of the Flower and Leaf patterns. These patterns make up 82 individual pieces or 39.60% of the 40.59% decorated ceramics. Pattern L, which will be discussed in detail below, consists of 20 ceramic pieces or 24.39% of the Flower and Leaf decorated ceramics. Fourteen of the Flower and Leaf patterns have only one occurrence in the FbNn-14 assemblage.

The first of the flower patterns that will be discussed is Pattern L (Figure 5.6). This pattern's main motifs are four interlinking blue thistle-like flowers at different stages of flowering, with leaves and shoots. The motif is then placed at two different heights that are alternated over the vessel. The last element of the pattern is gilding around the rim. Exhibiting this pattern are five teacups, five mugs, four saucers, two cups, two plates and two bowls. Most individual pieces in this pattern would be identified as tea ware. Interestingly there are an equal number of mugs and teacups. M. Kennedy was told by one of her elderly female informants that pieces such as these were provided in large bags of oatmeal as promotions. The variety of

elements in this assemblage indicates that Pattern L originally composed a set that was obtained piecemeal.

Figure 5.6: Pattern L here exemplified by four porcelain teacups and two porcelain mugs (Kennedy 2015a:15).

Pattern M is found on 12 white earthenware saucers (Figure 5.7). This pattern consists of a brown band outlined in black that is on both sides of a gold tiles tesserae pattern. On the gold tesserae-like pattern are three flowers with leaves. Below this whole section is a looping banner that alternates between flower and fern-like garlands when it comes to the top of its loop.

Pattern N is found on eight white earthenware saucers (Figure 5.8). Pattern O consists of a gilt line that has faded to silver. Below that is a gold band that has black diamond shapes outlined on it. Beneath the gold band is another gilt line that has faded to silver. Next is a silver line on which are alternating yellow flower and a leaf motifs.

Figure 5.7: Pattern M on FbNn-14:442, a white earthenware saucer (Wight 2015).

Figure 5.8: Pattern N represented by FbNn-14:2237, a white earthenware saucer (Wight 2015).

Pattern O is found on seven vitrified white earthenware plates (Figure 5.9). The pattern is done completely in shades of aqua. On the outside rim of the plate is a medium aqua border with white dots in it. Right below this band is a dark aqua band out of which comes a rough grain sheaf that seems to hold a looping flower vine. On the vine the pattern alternates between two flowers or a flower with buds. This seems to give the pattern the illusion of more variety. One piece identifies the maker as J. H. Weatherby & Sons made in England post-1892 (Godden 1964:653; Kovel and Kovel 1986:135F).

Figure 5.9: Pattern O on FbNn-14:2620, a vitrified white earthenware plate showing the interchanging decoration on the vine loops (Wight 2015).

Pattern Q (Figure 5.10) is represented by five individual ironstone plate vessels. None of the plates are complete. The plate rim is squared off and the moulded relief decoration is found on the rim. The pattern is dominated by a looping vine pattern created by leaves and flowers. Below this moulded loop pattern and extending until the end of the rim is a vertical ribbed pattern. This vessel exhibits a great deal of fabric deterioration due to water damage and the exterior fabric is chipping. Two maker's marks are present on ceramics in this pattern, both of which identify the maker as J. & G. Meakin, giving it a date of post-1900 (Gibson 2011).

Figure 5.10: This piece is FbNn-14:4036 of Pattern Q. The extensive damage to the glaze is quite evident. (Wight 2015).

Pattern U is represented by two vitrified white earthenware plates (Figure 5.11). The whole pattern is dark blue. The border of the pattern consists of an alternating lily and pumpkin motif. Inside this border is a peacock-like bird with its wings in the air that is surrounded by a tree-vine background. The whole pattern is not present on any of the two pieces so it is unknown what the rest of the pattern holds.

Figure 5.11: Pattern U here represented by FbNn-14:7495 (Wight 2015).

One of the most unique items with regard to ceramic patterns is Pattern BB which can be found on a porcelain creamer (Figure 5.12). It has a moulding that divides the vessel into rounded gothic-style panels. In between and below the panels are flowers with leaves in moulded relief. In the middle of each of these panels is a collection of flowers that consists of two purple, one pink, and one red flower - all connected with leaves and stem. In alternating panels one of the purple flowers is shown as large, then small, giving the pattern a dynamic feeling. The gilded part of the pattern is a line on the rim, inside the bottom of the panels, and on the right side of the handle. A gilded lace-like/flower pattern is present on the top of the creamer between the panels. At the base of the specimen is “GERMANY” printed in gold, giving an approximate date of post 1885 (Kovel and Kovel 1986:135F). This piece is the most decorated piece in the ceramic assemblage and it is tea ware as well.

Another highly decorated flowered pattern is X that was applied to a porcelain teacup (Figure 5.13). The foundation of the pattern is done in moulded relief and consists of a flower and its background leaves. A pink and white flower as well as a green background and green leaves were handpainted to fill out background of the vessel. Gold gilding was added to put

details on the leaves. Then thick gold paint was used to outline the leaves and give definition to the background. This teacup one of the most highly decorated pieces in the assemblage.

Figure 5.12: Pattern BB shown on FbNn-14:2201 is a highly decorated porcelain creamer (Wight 2015).

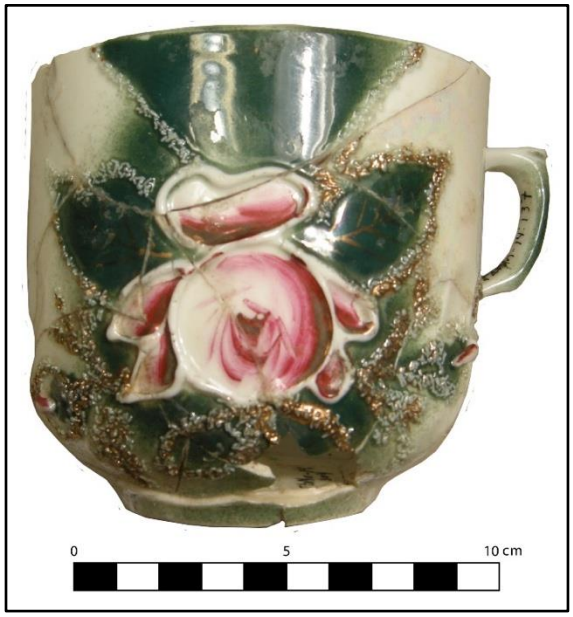

Figure 5.13: Pattern X on FbNn-14:131, a porcelain teacup, the most highly decorated teacup in the FbNn-14 assemblage (Wight 2015).

Pattern EE (Figure 5.14) consists of three decoration methods on one porcelain cup. Moulded relief produced the vine pattern, with a branch of gilded stamps. Hand painted dark green leaves are added for final additions. This pattern is highly decorative and one of the three most decorated items in the assemblage.

Figure 5.14: This picture of FbNn-14:4528 Pattern EE shows the highly decorated pattern on the ceramic (Wight 2015).

5.3.3 Landscape Patterns

The Asian ceramic Pattern KK (Figure 5.15) which is on 10 pieces, nine of which are saucers and one of which is a cup, is the most unique. The pattern is outlined in red instead of the normal black. At the top of the pattern are three lanterns with tassels. Then, to the upper left part of the scene is a beach on which is a hut. In front of this and in the center background of the picture are two decorative houses. Both houses have women in front of them who are dressed in Asian style clothes. In front of these individual scenes is a fence that is surrounded by flowers. Lastly colour specks in aqua, green, red, yellow, and blue have been roughly splotched around the pattern to add colour. The overall quality of the ceramic is comparable to others in the assemblage in that they are all roughly executed. This ware was probably quite inexpensive and yet the pattern is captivating.

Figure 5.15: Pattern KK shown here on porcelain saucers (L to R FbNn-14:4465 and FbNn-14:6569) (Wight 2015).

The procession of this patterned ceramic would have been a little unusual since the British Empires obsession for Japanese or Asian ceramics that started in 1867 and ended in the 1890s (Chaffers 1991:377; Huynh 2010:123). This trend was over by the time that the farmstead was inhabited. Some scholars have seen Asian recreated landscapes as a way that the British maintained colonialism or an element of ownership over the Asian culture (Stahl 2010:160-170). Yet this does not answer the question: what would a pattern like Pattern KK mean to Mennonite individuals? At the very least, it implies exotic items in the FbNn-14 homestead if not the knowledge of other cultures.

5.4 Catalogues and Other Methods of Ceramic Procurement

It appears that two of the patterns found in the FbNn-14 assemblage could have been purchased by catalogue (T. Eaton Company Ltd 1912-1913;1927). One of these, Pattern P, is found in the Fall and Winter 1912-1913 and Spring and Summer 1927 Eaton's catalogues labelled as the "cloverleaf pattern" (see Appendix C). The decoration is a tea bud and hence it is described here as a tea bud. Interestingly it is found in different qualities of ceramics, especially

porcelain and semi-porcelain, in the 1912-1913 Fall and Winter Eaton's Catalogue. The other pattern found in the Eaton's catalogue is Pattern O, which is labelled as "Medina" pattern (T. Eaton Company Ltd 1912-1913). Both patterns could have been purchased in sets or open stock. Both patterns are less than half the cost of the most expensive set in their respective catalogues. Therefore, the occupants of FbNn-14 were buying items that were moderately priced indicating that they allocated their income to buying ceramics that looked pleasing and expensive.

Of course, it is not necessary that the Dueck or the Janzen families purchased their ceramics from a catalogue. There would have been local stores in Aberdeen or Saskatoon, or travelling salesmen from whom the inhabitants of FbNn-14 could have obtained their ceramics. It is possible the household ceramics found at FbNn-14 were given to them by their neighbors. Items being given or sold between neighbours would not leave a trace unless recorded in a journal, and even the buyer would not give information about price, quantity or quality. The existence of contemporary records from stores and travelling salesmen is rare. Even if the records did survive it is possible that they would be difficult to understand or they may not hold as much information as catalogue advertisements. Therefore, to obtain price comparisons, and gain information about patterns such as names and pattern availability, catalogues are the best option available.

5.5 Tea ware

The vessel types that have been taken to be tea ware are: creamer, cup (either teacup or mug), mug, platter, saucer, and teacup. Platters are used for treats that could be served with tea both for pride's sake and to demonstrate the stock of the house (Kennedy, personal communication 2015b). Two hundred sixty-one items or 30.24% of the assemblage in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* group are tea ware. This is a decent proportion of the ceramic assemblage at FbNn-14 suggests that tea ware was important to the inhabitants of FbNn-14.

The variety of patterns on the tea ware can also provide clues for its use. There are 20 different patterns that are present in the tea ware. The percentage of tea ware that is decorated is 35.87%, which is about 12% higher than the whole ceramic assemblage. Tea ware is a highly decorated part of the ceramic assemblage.

The decoration on the tea ware consists of 19 patterns or 94 individually decorated items. I will next describe various aspects of these patterns by using their pattern names which are described in Section 5.3 and Appendix C. These 19 patterns are A, B, K, L, M, N, P, S, V, X, BB, CC, DD, EE, GG, KK, NN, OO, and TT. Nine of these patterns consist of one piece in the homestead assemblage and they are Patterns K, X, BB, CC, DD, EE, GG, OO, and TT. Yet of the other 10 patterns, are represented by at least two pieces each, tea ware makes up at least 50% of the pattern. Patterns B, L, M, N, P, S, V, and KK, have at least two pieces in each pattern, and comprise at least 75% of the tea ware. Six of these patterns, particularly patterns B, M, N, S, and KK, are found on only tea ware pieces. The huge variety in the tea ware in the archaeological assemblage demonstrates a mix and match mentality, even after considering the three occupations at the household.

There are also two well represented patterns in the archaeological assemblage at FbNn-14 that consist mostly of tea ware. Tea ware makes up 75% or 16 pieces of Pattern L and 68% or 25 pieces of Pattern A. The other items in these patterns consist of dinner ware so these tea sets may have been used separately from the dinner set. This does not necessarily mean that the tea set had to be used in conjunction with the rest of the set but that these items were purchased as sets. Yet, the quantity of tea ware and the variety of patterns cannot be accounted for with the purchasing of dinner sets alone because there are 31 patterns in the assemblage that only occur once, which is too many to be explained as a single discarded piece from a set. The more logical explanation is that some of the unique patterns, especially in the tea ware, were purchased individually.

The most decorated pieces in the assemblage are located amongst the tea ware, three different decorations were found on three pieces of tea ware and one other piece in the archaeological assemblage. These three pieces include Pattern BB is a porcelain creamer (Figure 5.12), Pattern X is a porcelain cup (Figure 5.13), and Pattern EE is a porcelain cup (Figure 5.14). A fourth piece that has three different types of decoration on it, Pattern SS, is too small to extrapolate the form of the vessel, although it is probably tea ware based on the decoration. Also, 81.25% of the patterns consisting of two different decoration methods are present in the tea ware. Only 9.67% of the total assemblages patterns that have only one decoration method are present on the tea ware.

Forty-seven percent of the decorated ceramics from the assemblage are tea ware. In the assemblage are twenty highly decorated patterns, having more than one decoration method

within the pattern. Seventeen of these twenty highly decorated patterns are seen in the tea ware. The most highly decorated items in the assemblage are tea ware, demonstrating its importance to the families who inhabited FbNn-14.

5.6 Ceramic Decoration Conclusion

Most of the assemblage is undecorated and only about half of the decorated style could be considered as highly decorated. Only about one quarter of the ceramics in the FbNn-14 artifact assemblage are decorated. Most of the ceramics in the assemblage that are decorated fit under the categories of Band and Geometric and Unidentified patterns. This leaves 10.66% of the ceramic assemblage to be considered as highly decorated and consists of the Flower and Leaf style and Landscape ceramic patterns. Some of the decoration on these highly decorative pieces is quite extensive.

The most used colour in the archaeological assemblage is gold, which is present as gilding around the rims of the ceramics. This gives these decorated items a sparkle and gives the impression of being more expensive. The next preferred colours for decoration are blue and green because the most popular motif portrays flowers. Flower and Leaf patterns consist of 40.59% of the decorated ceramics, i.e. 25 patterns.

The Flower and Leaf pattern ceramics found at FbNn-14 could have been representative of Mennonite gardening practices. Herbs, flowers, vegetables, and medicinal plants were grown by the mother of a household for seasoning as well as treating illnesses and other ailments (Region of Waterloo 2017a). The woman of the household probably took pride in her garden. Flowers are not only representative of a garden but they are also a standard design on ceramics.

The quantity and percentage of Band and Geometric, Flower and Leaf, and Landscape patterns found in the 1902 Sear's Catalogue, 1912-1913 Eaton's Fall-Winter Catalogue and 1927 Eaton's Summer Catalogue were quantified to be compared to the different patterns found in the FbNn-14 assemblage (Table 5.2). First, the Flower and Leaf and the Band and Geometric pattern percentages are roughly equivalent to the percentages present within the catalogues. More patterns exist in the Flower and Leaf patterns compared to the Band and Geometric patterns both in the FbNn-14 assemblage as well as the catalogues. The Landscape motif percentage in the FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage is lower when compared to the catalogue (Table 5.2). There was

only one Landscape pattern found in the FbNn-14 assemblage. Of course, this comparison is not precise because it is not known the exact method by which the ceramics ended up in the assemblage. Also, the FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage consists of only those items that were disposed at the site. In general, however, the different ceramic motifs found in the FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage fit well with the ratios found in the comparison catalogues.

Table 5.2: Quantity of Different Decoration Motifs Ceramics and Catalogues

Catalogue	Band and Geometric Patterns	Percentage	Flower and Leaf Patterns	Percentage	Landscape Patterns	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1902 Sears Catalogue	2	15.39%	10	76.92%	1	7.69%	13	100.00%
1912-1913 Eaton's Fall- Winter	6	42.86%	7	50.00%	1	7.14%	14	100.00%
1927 Eaton's Spring and Summer Catalogue	3	15.79%	15	78.95%	1	5.26%	19	100.00%
FbNn-14 Patterns	11	29.73%	25	67.57%	1	2.7%	37	100.00%

The Asian landscape pattern found within FbNn-14 ceramic assemblage is quite unusual. The image on the ceramic shows a landscape that the Mennonites who lived on the homestead had never seen. Due to the inaccurate placement of the colour on the ceramic it is assumed that this pattern was not expensive. The meaning of this ceramic to the individuals who lived on the homestead is hard to grasp but interesting nonetheless.

The decorated ceramics in the FbNn-14 assemblage hint at the importance of tea ware within the FbNn-14 assemblage. Interestingly the three items in the assemblage that use three different kinds of decoration are all tea ware. The implications of this will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6
The Dating of Artifacts in the FbNn-14 Archaeological Assemblage

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses specific artifact date ranges for the whole FbNn-14 assemblage, allowing a greater understanding of the artifacts that make up the assemblage as well as illuminate the archaeological site. Traditionally this kind of analysis is done to discover different occupational phases of the site. Unfortunately, there is not much comparative material for early twentieth century farmstead sites such as FbNn-14, but that which is available will be discussed here. The dates of some artifacts lead to interesting conclusions, proving the value of the analysis.

6.2 Placing the Assemblage in Time

Dating artifacts in historical assemblages gives a more refined date for a site or helps to differentiate areas or separate occupation layers in a site. Sometimes even different ideologies about garbage disposal can be seen through changes in midden location in a backyard overtime (Groover 2001; 2003). Based on the written record of the homestead such as the Tax Assessment Rolls and Homestead Records FbNn-14 has three potential periods of occupation. It would, therefore, be helpful to determine if these different periods can be defined through artifacts since a one-family household is ideal for interpretation (Beaudry 1989). This would allow for individual consumption patterns to be brought to light without the problem of mixing. Even if this separation of occupations cannot be achieved at FbNn-14, all the inhabitants were Mennonite so it is assumed that their *habitus* and consumption activities followed the same

patterns. Normally, spatial information such as stratigraphic position can be used to aid with artifact dates but at FbNn-14 the artifacts were found largely in Depression A mixed together.

Time lag is the temporal difference between the acquisition of an artifact and the deposition of the same artifacts at archaeological sites. The time lag for glass containers more accurate than for ceramics but it is still around ten years whereas the time lag of ceramics is 15-20 years (Adams 2003; Henderson 1992). Time lag varies for different artifacts due to their uses. Glass bottles quite often are carrying contents that on reaching a household will have a quick use such as beverages or a slightly longer one such as patent medicine. The glass bottle then could be reused but due to its fragility, it would be thrown away after the single intended use was completed. This gives glass a shorter lag time because ceramics typically end up in the archaeological record only through breakage or discard. Ceramics also can be used for a long time in a household as they are produced for reusability and thus more durable. Often ceramics are also curated or kept for special purposes and were not used as often and so they had less opportunities to break. Therefore, the time lag of ceramics is much longer than glass due to their durability, curation, and manner of use.

Calculating dates for artifacts that come from an early twentieth century homestead has some challenges. The material that archaeologists traditionally use to date historic artifacts is not refined since most archaeologists do not study archaeological sites from the last 150 years. Some of the reference books that archaeologists use were published before 1970. Many ceramic companies have stopped operating in the last fifty years but these reference books do not take this into account since they are published before these companies stopped operating. For example, many ceramic maker's marks have a start date of production but no end date as illustrated by Table 6.1.

There is one exception to this lack of study that should be noted. The Society for Historical Archaeology Bottle Reference Guide, which is online, are adding company histories online alphabetically (Lindsay 2017). The Historical Archaeology Bottle Reference Guide is an excellent example of an academic resource that is updated, maintained, and thoroughly researched. Some material types, such as metal, have never been studied to the point where accurate dates can be obtained. For example, there are no typologies for suspender clips or bike bells because the only sources available on their histories are unsourced websites.

Table 6.1: Ceramic Artifact Dates

Company	Product/ Pattern (Number of other ceramics in the pattern)	From	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
S. W. Dean		Burslem, Staff, ENG	1904-1910	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:195-6
George Jones & Sons		Stoke, Staff, ENG	1874-1924	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:359
George Jones & Sons		Stoke, Staff, ENG	1891-1924	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:359
W. H. Grindley & Co.		Tunstal, Staff, ENG	1914-1925	2	3.70%	Godden 1964
W. Baker & Co. Ltd.		Fenton, Staff, ENG	1893-1928	1	1.85%	Gooden 1964:51
Takito		JAPAN	1921-1948	2	3.70%	Lage 2004:380
Arthur J. Wilkinson		Burslem, Staff, ENG	c.1930-1964	1	1.85%	Kovel and Kovel 1986:85A
Johnson Bros (Ltd)		Hanley, Staff, ENG	1883-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:653; Kovel and Kovel 1986:135F
		GERMANY	c.1885-	1	1.85%	Kovel and Kovel 1986:229
Alfred Meakin Ltd.	Tealeaf Design	Tunstal, Staff, ENG	1891-	1	1.85%	Birks 2017a;b
W. Adams & Co.	FbNn-14:132(25)	Tunstal, Staff, ENG	1891-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:21-22
		ENG	c.1891-	8	14.82%	Kovel and Kovel 1986:229
J. H. Weatherby & Sons	Medina FbNn-14:2620A (6)	Hanley, Staff, ENG	1892-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:653; Kovel and Kovel 1986:135F
J. & G. Meakin (Ltd)	FbNn-14:138(3)	Hanley, Staff, ENG	1900-	2	3.70%	Gibson 2011
W. H. Grindley & Co.		Tunstal, Staff, ENG	1908-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964
Woods & Sons Ltd		Burslem, Staff, ENG	1910-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:689-690
Johnson Bros (Ltd)		Hanley, Staff, ENG	1913-	11	20.38%	Godden 1964: 355-356; Kovel and Kovel 1986:92K
Alfred Meakin Ltd.		Tunstal, Staff, ENG	1914-	3	5.56%	Birks 2017b
		JAPAN	c.1921-	6	11.12%	Kovel and Kovel 1986:229
Swinnertons Ltd.(?)	FbNn-14:8277(3)	Hanley, Staff, ENG	1946-	1	1.85%	Godden 1964:606; Swinnerton 2006:273
	Smoking Pipe		-c.1918	7	12.97%	Walker 1970
Total			1920	54	100.00%	

Another struggle in Canadian Historical Archaeology is the lack of study of Canada's industrial past. Many Canadian companies produced items for Canadian catalogues or supplied stores with goods. Yet few Canadian companies have company biographies that are publicly available. If histories for these Canadian companies exist, they are a small section in a local history book and therefore difficult to access. There are Saskatchewan and Ontario glass making companies represented in the assemblage but the company name and products are unknown (Figure 6.1 and 6.2). The only well documented Canadian companies that operated within the twentieth century are Dominion Glass and Consumer Glass since both have been the focus of at least one publicly available work (Brandon 1993; Lockhart 2015; Lockhart, Schriever, Lindsay 2015; Miller and Jorgensen 1986).

Figure 6.1: Unknown Saskatchewan company product, FbNn-14:8334 (Wight 2015).

Figure 6.2: Unknown Ontario company product, FbNn-14:2638 (Wight 2015).

Some artifacts from each of the different material types could be dated. The ceramic maker's marks that could that had production end dates in the earlier twentieth century predate the standard reference books. The first piece of metal that could be dated was due to an advertisement for Jonteel talc powder (Figure 4.4 and 4.5; E-bay 2017). The other piece of metal that could be dated was the toy gun because Best (1973) wrote a hobby book containing all the different toy guns present in the twentieth century. Most of the items that could be securely dated were glass due to the innovations that took place in the early twentieth century in bottle manufacturing. One of these innovations was the creation of semi-automatic followed closely by automatic bottle making machines and the other was that a greater understanding of chemistry was achieved during World War I, allowing different glass colours to be created (Lindsay 2018a; 2018h). Both innovations resulted in chronologically diagnostic colours and manufacturing styles that are seen in early twentieth century glass. The Society for Historical Archaeology Bottle Reference Guide was a huge help in this regard due to the quantity of information about body characteristics, finishes, and colours in glass making, as well as company profiles (Lindsay 2017).

6.2.1 Rationale for Artifact Division

The artifacts were divided up into different material types for the chronological analysis because, as previously noted, different material types span varying stretches of time from purchase to disposal in the midden. Different artifact types have different shelf lives or are more likely to break. For example, a tin can will be used the fastest because the contents are mostly single use consumable items while a ceramic must break before it is discarded. Thus, single use items will end up in the deposit more quickly than those that have longer use lives.

Another reason for the division by material type is that each has technologically more in common in its own type than with other materials. New technological innovations are used to date artifacts since technological diagnostics can be seen upon the artifacts. These materials include ceramic, glass, and metal and are listed in Table 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 respectively.

The other way that items can be dated is through company maker's marks. In general metal, has significantly less available literature with respect to artifact dates. The exception is cartridge shells. Cartridge casings have their own table (Table 6.4). Due to the work of

hobbyists, cartridge casings have very accurate dates (Newcomer 2017; Steinhauer 2017; Stratton 2012). These dates are related to companies and to specific products.

The total of the artifacts in Tables 6.1-6.4 represent post-mended numbers. Therefore, if two pieces mended together, in the chart, they were counted as one. Every individual piece that could not be mended with any other piece therefore received its own count within the quantity column. Also, the glass table contains only the artifact dates that will be discussed in this chapter. For the complete glass date table see Appendix D.

6.2.2 Discussion of Artifact Dates

There are some artifact dates in the assemblage that can potentially be separated into Dueck and Janzen families' occupation as well as a later occupation. The periods of homestead ownership are as follows: the Dueck family 1907-c.1924, the Janzen family 1926-1936, and Guenther and Friesen 1945-1949/1950 (Tax Roll 2007).

6.2.2.1 The Dueck and Janzen Families Artifacts

Diagnostic dates in the assemblage fall in the early part of the twentieth century, suggesting that both the Dueck family and the Janzen family were the main creators of the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage. The presence of two stoves, as noted in Section 4.5.3, also supports this point. There are no date gaps among the individual artifacts in Tables 6.1-6.4, thus making it impossible to archaeologically separate the two periods of habitation by artifacts alone.

There are a few items that could confidently be said to be purchased by the Duecks. The oldest item in the assemblage predates FbNn-14. It is a Yates silver spoon that had1892 as its end date of production (Woodhead 1991:285). Two bottles and one beer bottle have applied finishes, that should date before 1895 (Lindsay 2018d). It is possible that applied finishes were produced by local or smaller scale bottle manufacturers but this technology was nearing its end by the time the Duecks left the property in 1922/1924. Therefore, these three bottles likely are associated with Duecks as well. The oldest ceramic in the assemblage, is a S. W. Dean ceramic, dating to 1904-1910 (Figure 6.3). The presence of seven ceramic pipes which were not a common product after WWI suggests that someone in the Dueck household used it. The 12 total artifacts that the Duecks' may have owned consist of seven ceramic pipes, a metal spoon, a S. W. Dean company white earthenware ceramic, a beer bottle and two other glass bottles.

Table 6.2 Summary of Glass Artifact Dates

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
				Mineral	Applied	Aqua	Bottle glass	1830-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Brandy	Turn mold, applied	Amber	Beer bottle	1860s-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018b; 2018e
				Prescription	Applied	Amber	Bottle glass	1880-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons			Chicago, IL, USA			Purple	Medicine bottle	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Odell 2008
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons	Mountain Blood Flower Vitalizer					Purple	Medicine bottle	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Odell 2008
						Purple	Bottle glass	1880s-1920	15	3.38%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	10	2.25%	Lindsay 2018a
				Flared?		Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018e
						Purple	Jar	1880s-1920	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Unidentified	1880s-1920	41	9.23%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Bowl	1880s-1920	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; Lindsay 2018d
				Flared	Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018d; 2018f

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
				Wide prescription	Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018d; 2018e
						Grey & purple	Bottle glass	1915-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey & purple	Container glass	1915-1920	7	1.58%	Lindsay 2018a
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Purple	Container glass	1915-1920	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
Mrs. Winslow's	Soothing Syrup	Owen's Bottle	USA			Aqua	Medicine bottle	1919-1920	1	0.23%	Bottle Research Group 2016a; Lockhart et al. 2010:56-57
Dr. S. N. Thomas	Eclectric Oil					Colourless	Medicine bottle	1919-1920	1	0.23%	Sullivan 1984:15,18
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada			Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
				Large mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Grey	Fruit jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
					Bottling machine	Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Grey	Container glass	1915-1925	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
						Green & grey	Container glass	1915-1925	6	1.35%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey	Container glass	1915-1925	16	3.60%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
						Grey	Unidentified	1915-1925	12	2.70%	Lindsay 2018h
		Dominion Glass	Canada			Colourless	Bottle glass	1913-1928	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146
	Imperial jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada?			Colourless	Jar	1913-1928?	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:153-4
			Ontario	Patent	Tooled	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1885-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
			SK, Canada	Brandy	Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
Waterman's	Ink	Consumer glass	Canada	Collared	Bottling machine	Colourless	Ink Bottle	1917-1920s	1	0.23%	Davis and Lehrer 2011:96; Lindsay 2018f
J. R. Watkins		Consumer glass	Canada	Bead		Colourless	Bottle glass	1917-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f; Lockhart 2014; J. R. Watkins 2014
		Dominion Glass	Canada		Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1940s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146, 148
Total									444	100.00%	

Table 6.3: Metal Artifact Dates

Company	Product (Number of others in category)	From	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
Yates	Spoon	Birmingham, Warwickshire, ENG	1850-1892	1	5%	Woodhead 1991:285
	Binder		1850-1930	1	5%	Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998
Jonteel	Talc Powder (1)		c. 1917-1920/1921 or 1933	1	5%	E-Bay 2017; Good Health To all From Rexall 2016
	Toy Gun		1920-1930	1	5%	Best 1973
Eaton	Button	Toronto, ON, CA	1869-1999	6	30%	Sawyer 2015
Keen's	Mustard?	Australia?	1800-	1	5%	Keen's 2017
J. & O. McClary	Stove	London, ON, CA	1852-	1	5%	Thomson 2005
Burrow Stewart & Milne	Stove	Hamilton, ON, CA	1872-	1	5%	Graham 2005
Hohner	Harmonica (1)	Germany	1881-	1	5%	Artifact
	Cream separator		1882-	5	25%	Christensen 1957
	Bike bell		1887-	1	5%	Bicycle History 2017
Total				20	100%	

Table 6.4: Cartridge Shells Artifact Dates

Company	Product	Gauge	From	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
Dominion Cartridge Company			QC, CA	1885-1945	2	7.41%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company		12	QC, CA	1885-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Crown	Black powder	QC, CA	1907-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Imperial	12	QC, CA	1907-1945	11	40.74%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Canuck	16	QC, CA	1914-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Canuck	12	QC, CA	1919-1945	7	25.93%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Canuck	18	QC, CA	1919-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Meteor	12	QC, CA	1927-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Dominion Cartridge Company	Export	12	QC, CA	1929-1945	1	3.70%	Steinhauer 2017
Des Moines Ordnance Plant			IA, USA	1942-1945	1	3.70%	Newcomer 2017; Stratton 2012
Total					27	100.00%	

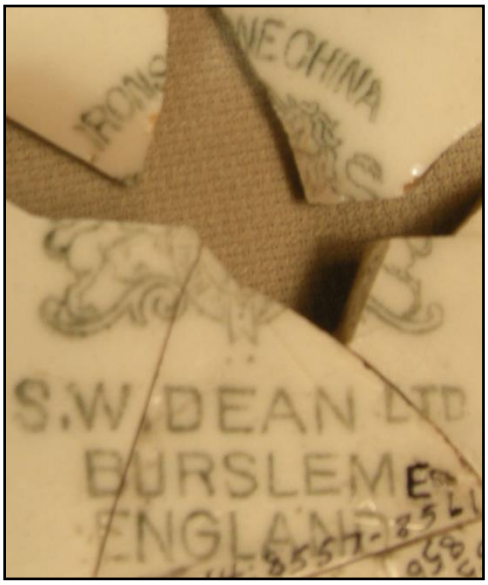

Figure 6.3: The S. W. Dean maker's mark, 1904-1910, on FbNn-14:1166 (Wight 2015).

There are several other artifacts that also possibly could be associated with the Duecks at the site. The two ceramics made by George and Sons and one ceramic made by W. H Grindley have production end dates of 1924 and 1925 (Godden 1964). Also, there are 90 pieces of glass that are now tinted purple, indicating that manganese was present in the glass, as such glass turns purple when exposed to the sun's ultraviolet rays. The practice of adding manganese to glass was largely phased out by 1920 (Lindsay 2018a). It is also possible that the glass was recycled and thus could have a slightly later use date. This assemblage of glass contains three bowls, three jars, two Dr. Peter Fahrney medicine bottles as well as many glass containers, bottles, and unidentified glass pieces whose original contents are unknown. The grey tinted glass was made for a short time period from 1915-1925 and there are 41 pieces of it, comprising five jars, 24 container glass bottles, and 12 unidentified pieces (Lindsay 2018a). Two medicine bottles, specifically Mrs. Winslow's cough syrup and Dr. S. N. Thomas's Eclectric Oil, date to 1919-1920 so either could have been owned by the Duecks or the Janzens (Bottle Research Group 2016a; Lockhart et al. 2010 56-57; Sullivan 1984:15,18). There is also the possibility that the Talc Powder from Jonteel was associated with the Duecks as well since the packaging either changed in 1920/1921 or 1933 (Figure 4.4; 4.5; E-bay 2017; Good Health to all From Rexall 2016). Therefore, these 135 artifacts either date to the Dueck family occupation at FbNn-14

which is 1907-1922/1924 or the Janzen family's occupation which was from 1926-1936 (Tax Roll 2007).

There is only one artifact that securely dates to the Janzen occupation at FbNn-14. The metal toy gun was dated between 1920-1930 based on typology (Best 1973). There are three other artifacts that could date to the Janzen occupation at the site: a Waterman's ink bottle 1917-1929, a Watkins medicine bottle 1917-1929, and an Imperial Fruit Jar made by the Dominion Glass Company (Davis and Lehrer 2011:96; Lindsay 2018f; Lockhart 2014; Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:153-4). The use of these artifacts with or without time lag would date in the Janzens occupation at the site. Therefore, only four items can be securely dated to the Janzen occupation at the site.

What the Duecks left behind and why they moved is unanswerable. It is not known where the Duecks moved or where the Janzens came from so no assumptions can be made about what was left at FbNn-14 or brought to it. In fact, the items previously noted as being Janzen purchases could have been brought to the homestead Janzens if one applies the time lag factor to these artifacts. Due to the lack of knowledge about either family both before and after they settled at FbNn-14, it is impossible to separate them absolutely. Therefore, this section contained my suggestions about what could be the remnants of both families' possessions.

6.2.2.2 Late FbNn-14 Occupation: The 1940s Artifacts

Three items that date post 1942 are the Des Moines cartridge case, a possible Swinnerton ceramic, and a Dominion Glass medicine bottle. The Des Moines Cartridge case, 1942-1945, reflects a later period of site use (Newcomer 2017; Stratton 2012). The presence of a later period cartridge case at a site is not unusual since someone could have been hunting in the area. The cartridge case could also have been left on the site by the third owners, J. B. Guenther and a John W. Friesen. The medicine bottle made by the Dominion Glass Company does imply that someone was present on the site in this time period as well.

The ceramic, if made by the Swinnerton Ceramic Company, would indicate a date of 1946 (Figure 6.4, Godden 1964:606; Swinnerton 2006; Swinnerton Family Society personal correspondence 2017). The unique maker's mark of the ceramic is consistent with the Swinnerton mark which consists of two horses beside a mirror which has dots in its frame above a laurel leaf. The font is the exact same as the Swinnerton mark but the maker's mark is missing

the company title. This possible Swinnerton ceramic is also Pattern F which consists of two dark green bands close to the rim and again two dark bands below the central decoration. The central decoration consists of red pinecones with light green dots between them. Three other ceramic pieces were found with this design on them. All four pieces of Pattern F were found in Depression A in 67N 31E Level 5, 67N 32E Level 5, 68 31E Level 9, 68 N 32 E Level 13. Since, this pattern was found between 25 to 65 cm below surface in Depression A, they are interpreted as part of the archaeological assemblage and not a later deposit at the site. The best explanation for this ceramic, if it is accepted as a Swinnerton ceramic, is that one of the third owners of the site, Guenther or Friesen, may have lived at the property.

Figure 6.4: The probable Swinnerton made ceramic that dates post 1946, FbNn-14:8277, which is also the most complete example of Pattern F (Wight 2015).

6.2.3 Summary on Artifact Date Discussion

There are items in the ceramic, glass, metal and cartridge case tables that were produced for a short time period. The first is the S. W. Dean ceramic that dates between 1904 and 1910. The second item is the Jonteel talc powder tin can packaging which probably dates from 1917-1920/1921. The set of artifacts contains two W. H. Grindly ceramics, which based on the ceramic marks, were produced from 1915-1925. Forty-one pieces of grey tinted glass that are also present that also date from 1915-1925. Two medicine bottles, Mrs. Winslow's cough syrup

and the Dr. S. N. Thomas Eclectric Oil, both have a very tight chronology of 1919-1920. The toy gun in the FbNn-14 assemblage can be securely dated to the 1920s based on morphology. Also, there is the Des Moines Ordnance Plant gun cartridge casing that dates from 1942-1945. Lastly, there is a bottle glass piece from the Dominion Glass Company that dates to the 1940s. Each of these five items represents occupation at the homestead throughout these decades.

Normally in a historical archaeological site, time lag should be considered. If the dates of individual artifacts in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage were shuffled between 10-25 years to account for time lag, then all the securely dated items would be much later and the whole site would appear to be inhabited in the late 1930s to early 1940s when no one was living on the homestead. It is possible that lag time in the twentieth century from product to homestead was shorter due to improved transportation. The other possibility is that due to the inhabitants of FbNn-14 moving, the artifact dates could be closely linked to occupation at the site. For example, if more was thrown away when a family was moving and more was bought when a family was moving in, then the artifacts at this household would be more current. This process of moving in and moving out happened at least twice and possibly three times over a 43 year period. The effect on this homestead of changing ownership was notable, but due to pit morphology the episodes cannot be separated. Therefore, the time lag principle does not appear to apply to this archaeological site. But that cannot be said with certainty.

Much was learned about FbNn-14 through the dating of the artifacts and the accompanying acquisition-discard process. There is one item in the assemblage which appears to be curated - the Yates spoon that dates from 1850-1892 (Woodhead 1991:285). Also, there are artifacts at this homestead from eastern Canada, United States, Germany, England, and Japan. This demonstrates connections of a homestead in the Saskatchewan prairies to the larger world which will be further examined in Section 7.2.

6.3 Conclusions on FbNn-14 Artifacts Dates

Dating the artifacts in the FbNn-14 assemblage is challenging due to the lack of good reference sources about many early to mid-twentieth century artifacts. Only 390 artifacts or 3.28% of the whole FbNn-14 assemblage had identifiable start and end dates of production. Many of the dates for these artifacts spread over the period that the Dueck and the Janzen

families lived on the homestead. At the same time, many items were produced before or past when the Dueck or the Janzen families were present. Besides a few items, it was impossible to delineate the Dueck and the Janzen families' artifacts among the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage.

Interestingly, there is at least one item that dates to every decade that the site was inhabited except for the 1930s. The 1930s was a decade of hardship on the Canadian prairies due to drought, falling wheat prices, and the Great Depression (Waiser 2007). The lack of material that dates securely to the 1930s could indicate a lack of purchasing power for the inhabitants of FbNn-14. The Janzens also left the property in or by 1936, so the last four years of the 1930s should not be represented by artifacts from the 1930s due an occupational hiatus.

Lastly, there is evidence for a late occupation in the FbNn-14 homestead that dates to the 1940s. This is quite late for anyone to be living on marginal land, especially after the droughts of the 1930s (Owram 2007). Yet the four pieces of ceramics made by the Swinnerton Company that started production after 1946, as well as a Dominion Glass bottle which dates to the 1940s, means that the archaeological assemblage cannot be treated as just a result of the Dueck and Janzen families' occupation on the site. Rather it must be assumed that J. B. Guenther or John W. Friesen were present at the site, and therefore, had some impact on the artifacts present.

Chapter 7
Understanding Interaction and Change

7.1 Introduction

The unnuanced or stereotypical perspective of the Mennonites is that they are a close knit, conservative community (Henderson 1992). This view is not necessarily a correct picture of any ethnoreligious group, let alone a group with many different experiences such as the Mennonites. Even in conservative communities that isolate themselves from the larger world, change occurs. These groups tend to rely on or be affected by the larger world, whether by services, taxes, new technology, socio-cultural influences, or legislation.

The Mennonites preferred isolation from the surrounding larger society. Yet FbNn-14 was occupied at a time when most of south and central Saskatchewan had been homesteaded or the lands was owned, so isolation was not possible. The homestead was close to both the town of Aberdeen and the regional centre of Saskatoon. The isolation of the Mennonites that was maintained in the Vistula Delta and Ukraine by both the Polish, Prussian, and Russian governments was not a reality in Canada (Dyck 1981; Klassen 2006; Lichdi 2006; Urry 2006). Canada actively wanted immigrant groups such as the Mennonites to incorporate and merge with the larger Anglo-Canadian culture (Palmer 1985). Even though the Mennonites were given their own settlement blocs, the village council had less control in Canada, than in Russia, allowing for great change in the Mennonite community. In particular, the collective approach to land ownership was undermined by Canadian governmental policy. The Canadian government gave the land to heads of households rather than the village while individual Mennonite farmers wanted their own land and did not want to be tied to the traditional field system (Warkertin 1959). Therefore, the process of change in Canadian Mennonite village settlements shows the

challenges faced by an ethnoreligious group interacting with the Canadian government and Anglo-Canadian society at large.

Canada changed during the first part of the twentieth century due to global events such as WWI. Many Canadian soldiers fought and died in WWI but pacifist groups such as the Mennonites did not fight. This led Anglo-Canadian society to become hostile to German-speakers, within Canada, such as the Mennonites. In response, an English-only policy in schools was passed in Saskatchewan in 1919, which resulted in many Old Colony Mennonites leaving the province for South America (Loewen 2013:14-39).

Thus, interaction with the larger Canadian community in the early twentieth century was an important contributor to change in the Mennonite community. Mennonites were absorbing items or practices from Canadian society into their life. Adopting or not adopting to parts of Anglo-Canadian culture was done through the Mennonites' own agency to support their own purposes. At the same time, many Mennonite ethnoreligious traditions continued into the twentieth century in a slightly changed format. The focus in this chapter will be to elucidate this process through the inclusion of mass produced items and elements of Anglo-Canadian society or governmental organizations in everyday Mennonite *habitus*.

First, the acceptance of technology by the Mennonites will be addressed to help understand the relationship of the Mennonites to Anglo-Canadian society. Next, a discussion about Mennonite network or community building practises will be provided in both a historical cultural framework and then an archaeological one. Lastly, the raising of Mennonite children will be analyzed through mass produced children's toys. These mass produced artifacts and Anglo-Canadian institutions were adapted into Mennonite practices because they easily fit in their world view.

7.2 Interaction with the Anglo-Canadian Community

7.2.1 Technology Adaptation

The presence of a syringe in the FbNn-14 homestead suggests that the Mennonites utilized veterinary care. Since veterinary care began to be regulated in Saskatchewan in 1908-1909, access to trained professionals was limited (Barker 2013). The presence of the syringe at the very least indicates a knowledge of animal health care and probably vaccinations. Animal welfare

would be something important to the inhabitants of FbNn-14 since they were farmers. Taking better care of one's animals enables them to grow faster or work harder with a greater profit.

The acceptance of new farm technology, such as a tractor, was more acceptable than transportation technology such as a car. In Manitoba, there was a resistance to both cars and tractors in the Mennonite community (Loewen 2013). Tractors, though, were more readily accepted because they aided in the livelihood of the farmers and increasing production rates of farms exponentially. No definitive tractor parts were found at FbNn-14. Yet the presence of a car seems to be the only mechanized vehicle directly present in the FbNn-14 assemblage. The presence of a car tire sealing cap (FbNn-14:10826), and two pieces of oil cans (FbNn-14:8439; FbNn-14:8440) indicate that mechanical technology was used in the homestead. The purchase of and learning how to use these items necessitated interaction with the wider community.

The presence of electrical wire implies that electricity was present on the homestead. It is likely that the wire represents windmill to battery generated electricity since few rural households had power lines to them before 1949 (Champ 2001). The power of wind based systems was not large but would be used for lights and likely in the barn, allowing more tasks to be accomplished since it would extend working hours. The electrical wire shows that the Mennonites who lived on the FbNn-14 farm site included modern technology in their life on the Canadian prairies.

7.2.2 Connection to the Global and Canadian Markets

The study of global markets as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1 allows archaeologists to understand the complex trade networks with which the former occupants of a site were involved and the ways in which artifacts made it to the location where they are found (Adams 1976; Adams, Bowers and Mills 2001; Riordan and Adams 1985). Connections to the global market are shown through the manufacturing origin of products. As previously mentioned in Chapter 5.3.3 the Asian decorated ceramics indicate a knowledge of or interest in different cultures even if just from the images on these ceramics (Figure 5.15). The compiled imagery on these ceramics was most likely done in England due to the combination of both Japanese and Chinese elements (Stahl 2010). The meaning of the Asian ceramics to the Mennonites who lived in FbNn-14 is difficult to interpret. The misplaced colouring on the ceramic demonstrates that it was inexpensive. At the very least, the Asian ceramic does show a connection to the global market.

Other connections to the global market can be seen in the assemblage at FbNn-14. One hundred and thirty-three items can be tied to a country of origin (Table 7.1). Numerous items came from England including 38 pieces of ceramics and a spoon. The English ceramic industry made up most of the Canadian market share in the early twentieth century. Six ceramics denote their country of origin as 'JAPAN' and another two were made by a Japanese ceramic maker Takito (Lage 2004). Thus, a connection to the Asian market is present in the FbNn-14 assemblage, even if it happened through Anglo-Canadian retailers. There are also eight items from the United States of America, two items from Germany and one from Australia. There is a significant number of items in the assemblage that are from Canada as well. Canadian products dominate the cartridge cases category. Many of the items from Canada came from Ontario or Quebec and there are several items that came from Manitoba. Only one Saskatchewan-made item can be securely identified.

Table 7.1: Country of Origin of Individual FbNn-14 Artifacts

Country of Origin	Ceramics	Glass	Cartridge Cases	Metal	Total
Canada		41	26	8	75
England	38			1	39
United States of America		7	1		8
Japan	8				8
Germany	1			1	2
Australia (?)				1	1
Total	47	48	27	11	133

The method by which the artifacts were obtained was through catalogues, local stores, or travelling salesman. The inhabitants of FbNn-14 did use, at least, the Eaton's catalogue since five 'Eaton' buttons were found in the assemblage (FbNn-14:1564; FbNn-14:2880; FbNn-14:2881; FbNn-14:2882; FbNn-14:2883). The connection to stores, of course, is indirect but must have happened. It is difficult to know what and how items were brought with the inhabitants of FbNn-14 from their previous homes (Section 6.2.2.1). There is evidence in Manitoba of Mennonites bringing household items such as teacups from Europe so this option must be considered as well (Sawatsky and Dyck 2014).

Another way that the inhabitants of FbNn-14 had connections to the larger world could be inferred from the number of tin cans present on the site. Tin cans allowed individuals to

supplement their diet or eat items that were not grown on their farm. The large assemblage of about 133 single use food containers demonstrates contact with a store.

Mennonite household decoration also changed within the twentieth century. Mennonites preferred their homes to have minimal decoration and only small decorative items even into the 1950s (Sawatzky 2005:180-182). Yet in the assemblage knick knacks are present, like the dog (FbNn-14:2305; Section 4.5.3; Figure 4.6), and the small metal man (FbNn-14:7271). From a Mennonite perspective mirrors promoted vanity, but there is one in the household assemblage as well as a picture frame (Sawatzky 2005; FbNn-14:5602; FbNn-14:7271). Therefore, the Mennonites of FbNn-14 had decorated homes.

7.2.3 Connection to Global Markets Summary

The Mennonites incorporated new technology and material into their lives on the Canadian prairies. They found new ways to supplement their diet and expand productivity. Technology had an impact during the first part of the twentieth century and the Mennonites, like the rest of Canada, made use of these new innovations. This section demonstrates that Mennonites, even if it could be said that they are resistant to change, adapted when it directly benefited them. The adopted technologies were allowed higher farm productivity, canned food to supplement their diet, and veterinary care for their animals. The homesteaders accessed these household items through magazines or local stores, and these items were from many different countries, thus indicating the Mennonite connection to the global market. Household decoration can also be seen in the FbNn-14 assemblage and gives an indication as to items that may have been important to the people who lived at FbNn-14.

7.3 Community Preservation

7.3.1 Mennonite Community Network

Mennonite settlers lived in block settlements to support the religious practice of worldly separation and to reaffirm and reinforce their cultural *habitus*, and thus in turn strengthen their community. Visits between different Mennonite families would be important to keep strong relationships in the community. Every family either visited or was visited by others at least once

a week (Loewen 1999). Therefore, interaction in the community was strong due to frequent visiting practices.

The Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 did not live in a village unit, but even outside the Hague-Osler bloc settlement, extended families often settled close together. At FbNn-14 both the Duecks and the Janzens had relatives who lived nearby as demonstrated by the Cummins Mapping Company maps from 1920, 1922, and 1930. Therefore, nearby familial assistance was always present if needed and this would not only be obtained at chance occasions, but would be scheduled (Loewen 1999:70-75). Young women could be hired to help a neighbour who had just gone through a difficult birth or needed child care (Loewen 1999). Household chores such as pie making were done in rounds (Loewn 1999). Therefore, every mother of a household would get aid in making food for her family as well as exchanging food with them.

The help of neighbours or family members, which was then reciprocated, was a part of Mennonite culture (Adams 1975). Extra farm hands were hired to help for a season if needed (Loewen 1999:77-85). The preferred hired hands were Mennonite, so that the favour could be exchanged later when one's own boys grew up. This shows that even though the Mennonites lived in individual household units there was fluidity in the community to ensure that the whole community benefitted from the work done.

Work or more solemn events were often accompanied by socializing and a meal. For example, if a farmer helped another, they would at least expect a meal in exchange for work. Sunday meals with the church community, or a part thereof would help to extend community solidarity; such events were a major part of the Sunday activities since no work is supposed to be done on that day (Kennedy, personal communication 2015b; Loewen 1999).

Another practice that is viewed often as a social occasion is a day in the fall on which a farmer would slaughter his pigs, processing them to become food for the winter (Loewen 1999). This would be a day full of socializing, and work that allowed Mennonite cultural practices to continue through food, shared experience and language. Each of these activities when done with neighbours allowed the task to be tackled more efficiently and facilitated the maintenance of social relationships. Therefore, the Mennonite visiting practices and bloc settlements were set up to allow ease of practice of language, cultural *habitus*, religion and efficiency of household tasks and farming practices.

7.3.2 Communication Preservation Through the FbNn-14 Artifacts

There are several items in the FbNn-14 assemblage which demonstrate the prevalence of communication in the Mennonite community. First is half of a coconut shell in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage (FbNn-14:11700). This coconut shell by itself does not signify much except that it was not grown locally, but rather somewhere tropical. The other item is a conch shell which had been sawed in half and written on (Section 4.5.7 or Figure 4.10 for discussion of FbNn-14:12752). Since the word on it is 'greeting' and as it appears to be signed the shell demonstrates communication between two different locations. This item indicates significant personal connection between the person it was given. The shell was probably communication to a friend or family member in the Mennonite community who moved to Mexico in the early 1920s.

Letter writing is one form of communication that can reinforce community ties. One item in the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage that is connected to letter writing is an ink well (Section 4.5.7 and Figure 4.9 for a picture and discussion of FbNn-14:5019) and two pieces of pencil lead (FbNn-14:2945; FbNn-14:11607). It is quite common in Mennonite diaries to mention sending, reading, or receiving letters (Loewen 1999). Sending letters is a time commitment but would have been the main method of communication once families moved. Mennonites relied on national and international mail services to deliver the mail to their loved ones across the globe. Even though the Mennonites may have moved to achieve community isolation, they still used the mail services supplied by the wider society.

The five telephone parts in the assemblage represent one of the more 'modern elements' in the FbNn-14 assemblage (FbNn-14:2341; FbNn-14:2342; FbNn-14:2635; FbNn-14:3830; and FbNn-14:10143). Telephones were common in the province by 1924 and half of Saskatchewan farmers had telephones in their homes by 1929 (Love 2006). This technology allowed the individuals living in the household to connect with their neighbours more easily or to contact emergency services. As the Mennonite communities expanded over many different countries and various locations in these countries, new ways had to be found to maintain this communication and sense of community.

7.3.3 Tea Ware and the Maintenance of Social Relationships

How can pervasive Mennonite community building or maintenance of social relationships be illustrated in the archaeological assemblage at FbNn-14? The answer is tea ware. Tea ware or coffee ware (for simplicity sake, all will be referred to as tea ware), as discussed in Section 3.4.1, has been seen in Historical Archaeology to indicate the gathering of people (Allison 2003:183-184; Wall 1994:124; 1999). But in a Mennonite setting, both women and men visited (Loewen 1999). Women, whether men were present or not, were in control of the tea ceremony since it is a kitchen related task. The women would heat the water, prepare the tea, and place out baked goods they had made. The gathering of individuals to eat treats and drink tea while socializing or around working activities would aid in reinforcing social relationships and friendships.

One cannot simply see tea ware present in an archaeological assemblage and assume it is a group activity. But mentioned in Chapter 5 and specifically Section 5.5, the quantity, the variety of patterns and decorative styles suggest that the tea ceremony was a central activity within Mennonite leisure culture. The tea ware consists of many unique, pretty, and more expensive items. These items of tea ware would be highly visible while entertaining guests. It could be assumed that having tea with neighbours or relatives was a standard occurrence at the homestead, to which warranted such an extensive amount of highly decorated tea ware.

7.3.4 Summary on Mennonite Community Building Practise

Community building would be facilitated by the practice of visiting and having tea or coffee with family and friends. The tea ware from FbNn-14 provides concrete evidence for this activity happening at the homestead. Tea ware would be readily available in Canada, due to British practice and influence, yet having tea also fits well into Mennonite social relationships. Thus, Mennonites were not conforming to British or Anglo-Canadian practice rather they were using elements that were useful and contributed to their ethnoreligious identity and community.

Also, the maintenance of these relationships through letter writing, gifts, or visiting is also attested to in the assemblage. The province of Saskatchewan, by making English the language of instruction in provincial schools mandatory, led many Mennonites to leave the country. As well as more Mennonites moved to escape the droughts of the 1930s on the Canadian Prairies (Dyck 1981). Thus, the adaptation to technology or reliance on governmental services such as the Canadian postal service was necessary to maintain the global Mennonite. Mennonites used

technology or objects or services to their own benefit. It helped them further their relationships and maintenance of social ties both in their local community and across the globe.

7.4 Children's Toys and Teaching the Next Generation

Children's toys are difficult to evaluate because adults do not often write about children. When adults do write about childhood it is often from a wistful or reflective standpoint based on their current knowledge as adults (Baxter 2005; 2008). Current or modern biases must be addressed when dealing with gender specific items in an archaeological assemblage. Even the nature of girls' versus boys' toys have intrinsic differences. Girls were supposed to be hosts, mothers and be raised to be delicate. Thus, toys for girls consist of breakable, stationary and pretty toys like porcelain dolls (Lima 2012; Somerville 2015:277-279). These dolls were supposed to teach girls a gentle touch since the dolls were breakable. Thus, if the girl wanted to continue playing with her doll, she had to be careful not to wreck it. Toys made for boys often had moving parts, were made to be played with outside, or were items directly related to the outside world. These toys could consist of trains with spinning wheels and marbles the boy's view of male adulthood as being strong, going to work, and providing for his family (Lima 2012; Somerville 2015:277-279). This gendered pattern can be seen in the mass produced toys at the time. Toys were made for the children of each gender in relation to these ideals.

As mentioned previously in Section 3.5, children receive toys in part to teach them skills, which could be helpful immediately or later in life as they matured. For example, the games played with a ball, like the four in the FbNn-14 assemblage, generally teach hand-eye coordination, muscle development, and health (Figure 7.1). A ball facilitates different parts of the body working in combination which will help children as they grow.

A toy game piece can be examined through the lens of play and how it impacts a family. A game piece is another way that adults and kids can engage in play (Figure 7.2). Adults teach children how to play games fostering their strategic and logical thinking. A harmonica, of which there are two in the assemblage, could be a children's toy or an activity that the whole family would enjoy.

Figure 7.1: Two rubber balls, FbNn-14:6556 and FbNn-14:10700 (Wight 2015).

Figure 7.2: FbNn-14:8171 is a game piece with inlay (Wight 2015).

7.4.1 Teaching Girls to be Mothers and Hosts

The girls' toys in the FbNn-14 assemblage consist of items that would reinforce ideas about domesticity and teach a girl the skills she would need when she became a mother. The first of these toys consists of four pieces of a children's miniature tea set, which is intended to teach a young woman to be good hostess, to direct conversation and serve others (Figure 7.3). The children's tea set reinforced Mennonite attitudes towards proper social and hosting skills.

In the FbNn-14 assemblage there are at least two dolls represented by doll heads of which one is a soft-past porcelain delicate doll (Figure 7.4 and 7.5). Dolls are the other toy often associated with young women because they teach mothering skills. It gives a girl an opportunity to look after a dependent in every respect. Mennonite girls are encouraged to get married and have children. A doll prepares them to help their mothers care for younger siblings and one day their own children. Therefore, the girls' toys in the archaeological assemblage of FbNn-14 point

towards a woman's future role as a mother and a hostess. This view that women were supposed to be mothers and hostesses would fit well in both the dominant Anglo-Canadian roles for women but also in the standard roles of Mennonite women.

Figure 7.3: FbNn-14:12112, a child's teacup (Wight 2015).

Figure 7.4: FbNn-14:8505, a soft paste porcelain doll (Wight 2015).

Figure 7.5: Four doll head pieces that probably are from the same doll (Wight 2015).

7.4.2 The Toy Associated with Boys

A toy revolver is most likely tied to boys reinforcing the idea that as a boy becomes a man he is to provide and protect his household by participation in the public non-domestic sphere (Figure 4.8). The revolvers interpretation fits into societal and ethnoreligious ideals of manhood as previously referred to in Section 3.4.3 and Section 3.4.4. Mennonite boys were sometimes in charge of hunting and trapping on the farm, starting somewhere around 12 years of age (Loewen 1999:86-88; Weins 2004). Therefore, the toy could reinforce the boys running the trap lines on the property and supplementing the family's diet. A toy revolver could also be interpreted as a necessity for helping to develop their aim. Yet, the toy revolver is unlike the typical hunting weapon of a shot gun even if it is supposed to represent one.

The revolver due to its morphology can be securely placed in the 1920s (Best 1973). Another explanation of the revolver on the homestead of FbNn-14 is that it reflects a time of

great change on the Canadian prairies. It is possible that the second family who lived on the homestead was not as conservative since many of the most conservative Mennonites had left Canada by the mid-1920s. Yet the Janzens had possession of the homestead starting in 1926 (Tax Roll 2007). The child who used this toy may have attended a provincially-run school. Exposure to violence was one of the things that pacifist Mennonites feared about the legislation that ended the German language education of their children (Epp 1974:333-353; Loewen 2013). The ones that took the school issue quite seriously left Canada because having Mennonite schools was no longer an option (Loewen 2013). Therefore, it is possible the Janzens were a little less conservative in their ethnoreligious beliefs and did not take the presence of a revolver as oppositional to the Mennonite doctrine of pacifism.

7.4.3 Summary of the Implications of Children's Toys

Children's toys in a household are only there if they are deemed appropriate by the parents since they decide what is given to children in a household (Baxter 2005:41-46). The toys in the household assemblage show an emphasis on skill development. Hand-eye coordination can be learned from a ball. A revolver can teach a boy about hunting or protection, while a girl is taught through a miniature tea set and a doll how to look after others and be a hostess. These toys allow us a glimpse into a household and the learning of skills in a Mennonite household on the prairies. The Janzen and the Dueck families both had children, and they taught them their ethnoreligious roles at FbNn-14. These ideal roles that the boys and girls were taught through the toys in the household not only fit into Mennonite gender ideals but also in the larger Anglo-Canadian context at the time.

7.5 Conclusion on Connections and Inclusivity in the FbNn-14 Homestead

The Mennonites could not maintain their separateness from Canadian society, especially with the advent of World War I. They were seen as German and not as loyal Canadian citizens (Epp 1974). They faced racism and exclusion to a greater scale than previously. Their separate education system was gone. In response, many more conservative Mennonites left Canada and thus those who stayed became more involved in the surrounding Anglo-Canadian society.

Even though the Mennonites were being institutionally pressured into Canadian society they were selective in purchasing items that reflected their identity. The purchases of the Mennonites were items that aided them in strengthening their community. Some items like an automated vehicle or a telephone seem to invalidate the idea of the Mennonites as a close-minded conservative community. However, the Mennonites needed these for livelihood, transportation and/or to maintain community.

I would argue that mass produced items and governmental supports were adapted to make the individuals who lived at the household more successful in supporting their ideals. The Mennonites accepted new technology such as electricity that would aid with certain tasks and lengthen a workday for the house or the barn. The Mennonites used automation and new veterinary medicine to make their agricultural ventures more successful and efficient. Food at the homestead was supplemented with the purchase of tined foods. Items were purchased from T. Eaton Company catalogues indicating reliance on the federal mail systems to process the order and then send the goods. Mass produced children toys were purchased to teach the next generation gender specific skills. The cohesion of the Mennonite community was strengthened with mass produced purchased tea ware for the maintenance of social relationships, as was letter writing, with letters sent through the federal post system. Therefore, the relationship between the Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 and the larger Anglo-Canadian community was a challenging relationship filled with nuance, distance and interconnectedness.

It is possible that the Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 were less conservative, as exemplified by the presence of the harmonica, games, toy revolver, glass dog, mirror, and picture frame since each of these do not fit into a very conservative Mennonite aesthetic ideal. The Mennonites who lived at FbNn-14 like Canada, were changing, after World War I. The Canadian community was also generally a little less conservative due to the feeling of optimism and victory; the war was over even though it was won at a heavy cost. All of the new technological developments fostered by the war were now available to the public. WWI impacted the Mennonite communities directly through the loss of their school system. The Mennonites themselves, though, were active participants in the change, as can be seen at the FbNn-14 homestead. For example, the adaptation of mechanized equipment may have helped them gain a huge profit for wheat due to the soaring grain prices post WWI (Waiser 2005). The time for change was on the Mennonites, but this change allowed the Mennonites to be competitive in the

open market economy, as well as continue their most important cultural practices. This reality is reflected in the archaeological assemblage of FbNn-14.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

8.1 Summary

The objective of this thesis was to understand the consumption patterns present at the Mennonite homestead of FbNn-14 and from that learn more about their accommodation to the Canadian social and economic landscapes. Historically, the Mennonites have often tried to isolate themselves from surrounding society. This position has led to them to be studied as an insular group, with little attention given to their interaction with the larger community. The continuities and changes that occurred among some of the Mennonites as a result of the move to Canada and interactions with Anglo-Canadian society were a primary focus of the analysis of the FbNn-14 artifact assemblage.

The Mennonites, a persecuted Anabaptist group in Holland and Germany, moved to Poland and eventually to New Russia to be able to practise their religion in peace. In these locations, they developed agriculture in previously unfarmed areas, leading them to gain a reputation as good farmers. The Mennonites moved to Manitoba from New Russia in 1874 to retain their traditional community practices such as education and pacifism. In 1895, after the Manitoba Mennonite Reserves became full, the Government of Canada granted them land just northeast of Saskatoon, which became known as the Hague-Osler Reserve. Just outside of the Hague-Osler Reserve is where FbNn-14, the archaeological site of focus for this thesis, is located. FbNn-14 had three different phases of occupation, which began with the original homesteaders Heinrich H. B. Dueck and Margaretha Harder Dueck. They had eight children and lived on the homestead from 1907-1922/4. The second owners of the homestead were H. Janzen and his family who lived on the homestead from 1926-1936. The third phase of ownership of FbNn-14 consisted of

both J. B. Guenther and John W. Friesen, whose names are associated with the property from 1945-1950. While the homestead was occupied during the early half of the twentieth century, many events occurred in Canada that affected the inhabitants of the homestead enduring anti-German sentiment during and post World War I, the development of new technologies (eg. transportation, agricultural practice), the Great Depression, the 1930s prairie drought, and the ongoing population shift from rural environments to urban centres.

The foundational theory for the archaeological analysis of the FbNn-14 was consumption. Consumption can be understood as a study of what people buy and why, examining influences that cause people to make specific purchases. Consumption patterns are linked to both individual and ethnoreligious consumption as well as to the global market. A unique *habitus* is formed by an ethnic group and shapes the activities of the individuals in the group. For example, tea ware and tea ceremonies are often associated with women. Childhood and gendered specific versions of childhood also helped interpret the artifacts.

The classifications categories of the 11,842 artifacts found at FbNn-14 were examined. The archaeological site consisted of eight features, four labelled Depression A through D, and four labelled Foundation 1 through 4 (Figure 2.1). Almost all of the artifacts came out of Depression A, which was located to the northwest of Foundation 1, the house foundation. Each of the 13 functional groups that the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage was divided into were discussed in detail with key artifacts highlighted with a picture and a description.

The ceramic decoration found in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* Activity group was discussed in Chapter 5. The 202 decorated ceramics, which consisted of 52 patterns, were divided into four pattern types: Band and Geometric, Flower and Leaf, Landscape and Unidentified patterns types. Patterns that were either highly decorated or occurred over five times was discussed in detail. The quantity and variety of tea ware demonstrated the importance of this class of artifacts in the assemblage.

In Chapter 6 the dates for the artifacts from the FbNn-14 archaeological assemblage were discussed extensively. It was difficult to refine the dates on many artifacts found in the FbNn-14 assemblage because they are from a time period that has not often been studied archaeologically or by other material type experts. Thus, only a few artifacts were associated with each occupation of the site. The Dueck occupation at FbNn-14 is represented by seven smoking pipes, a serving spoon, one beer bottle, two glass bottles, a S. W. Dean ceramic and a tin can that

originally held talc powder. The only item that could be securely dated to the Janzen occupation of the site was a toy gun. Interestingly, three separate items - a cartridge case, a Dominion Glass bottle and a probable Swinnerton ceramic were dated to the 1940s, indicating that either J. B. Guenther or John W. Friesen lived or were present at FbN-14 for a brief period. Therefore, through the dating of the artifacts, the three owners of FbNn-14 had impacts on the archaeological assemblage.

The focus of Chapter 7 was the interaction of Mennonites from FbNn-14 with the surrounding Anglo-Canadian society. This interaction is exemplified by the purchases that they made or government systems that they used. They used the Canadian postal service to keep in contact with relatives or friends who had moved away. The telephone and the associated support system was also used to keep contact with others. Mennonite community-building practices became affected by the greater Anglo-Canadian market due to the incorporation of the British tea ware. Tea time and the associated gathering with baked goods aids in maintaining the Mennonite community which explains the large amount of tea ware in the FbNn-14 assemblage. The tea ware is composed of the most highly decorated items in the assemblage as well as consisting of many different patterns, suggesting group use of the tea ware. The children's toys found in the FbNn-14 assemblage also illuminate the connection of the Mennonites to the larger global market. These toys reflect of Mennonite values regarding childhood which are comparable to the larger Anglo-Canadian society. Dolls teach girls how to be good mothers and look after others. A toy gun is suggestive of boys being introduced to male roles through play. The future roles of children in the Mennonite household, in part, were taught using mass produced items sourced from the Anglo-Canadian market.

8.2 Future Considerations

The early twentieth century is becoming a period that few people remember. There are several suggestions for future work that have arisen through the course of writing this thesis. One such issue is the potential loss of informants. Interviews should be conducted with people who were alive at this time concerning various topics such as houses, animals, farming practises, household decoration, relationships, neighbours, towns, technology, and memories. There are so many things we do not know about peoples' everyday lives even if we do have basic records.

Archaeological interpretations of the early twentieth century would be aided by personal reminiscences from this time period.

A current body of reference materials for early twentieth century artifacts should be created and/or updated regularly. In studying the metal material from FbNn-14, there were few sources that dealt with early twentieth century production. The stove companies mentioned in this thesis, specifically J. & O. McClary and Burrow, and Stewart & Milne, do not have detailed records. Therefore, their products' temporal placement is challenging. Undefined dates for ceramics in the twentieth century is also problematic for research due to many maker's marks having a known start date but no known end date of production. The lack of such information limits the archaeologists' ability to reconstruct and early twentieth century Canadian sites. More archaeological and historical research should be directed towards the early twentieth century in Canada, which was one of Canada's formative periods, will allow a better understanding of Canada's past.

Lastly, more comparative material on the Mennonites would aid in interpreting Mennonite archaeological sites. The locations that should be examined for comparable homesteads to FbNn-14 are the Manitoban homesteads or New Russian Mennonite villages. Analysing Mennonite archaeological assemblages from these locations in comparison to FbNn-14 should lead to a more detailed understanding of Mennonite consumption patterns. It would also aid in developing a more complete picture of Mennonite interactions with global economies and further the archaeological work on Mennonites in Canada.

8.3 Conclusion

FbNn-14 is important for the information it can yield with respect to the interaction between Mennonite homesteaders and the wider Anglo-Canadian society. This study was conducted primarily through research on consumption patterns. The Mennonites are often seen as a conservative and insular community, but after analysing the FbNn-14 assemblage this view should be revaluated. Change was evidenced by the presence of mass produced goods and new technological innovations. The impact of such items in the Mennonite community was filled with tension. On one hand the Mennonites wanted exclusion from the 'world' to allow full continuance of their religious and cultural traditions. Yet, on the other hand, Mennonites come to

rely on massed produced items such as tea ware and dolls to aid in maintaining their social relationships and teach gender roles to their children. The Mennonites began to rely on the national mail service, telephones, and electricity all of which could be used to uphold their individual ethnoreligious practise but also meant that they, themselves, became a part of the larger Anglo-Canadian societal network. Mennonite society changed due to the connections they made with Anglo-Canadian society.

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Appendix A

Stratigraphy and Distribution of Excavation Units for Depression A

This appendix consists of a detailed plan view of the excavated units in Depression A (Figure A.1) as well as digitized versions of the stratigraphic profiles that were recorded when Depression A was excavated in 2007 (Figure A.2-A.5). This data will provide archaeological context for the FbNn-14 artifact assemblage since over 98% of the artifacts assemblage came from Depression A.

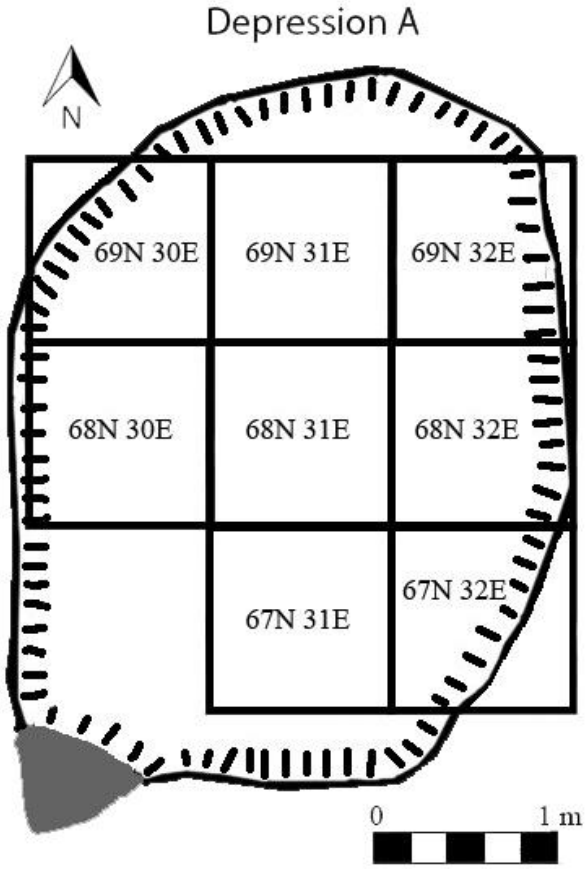


Figure A.1: The excavation units of Depression A (Adapted from Kennedy 2007).

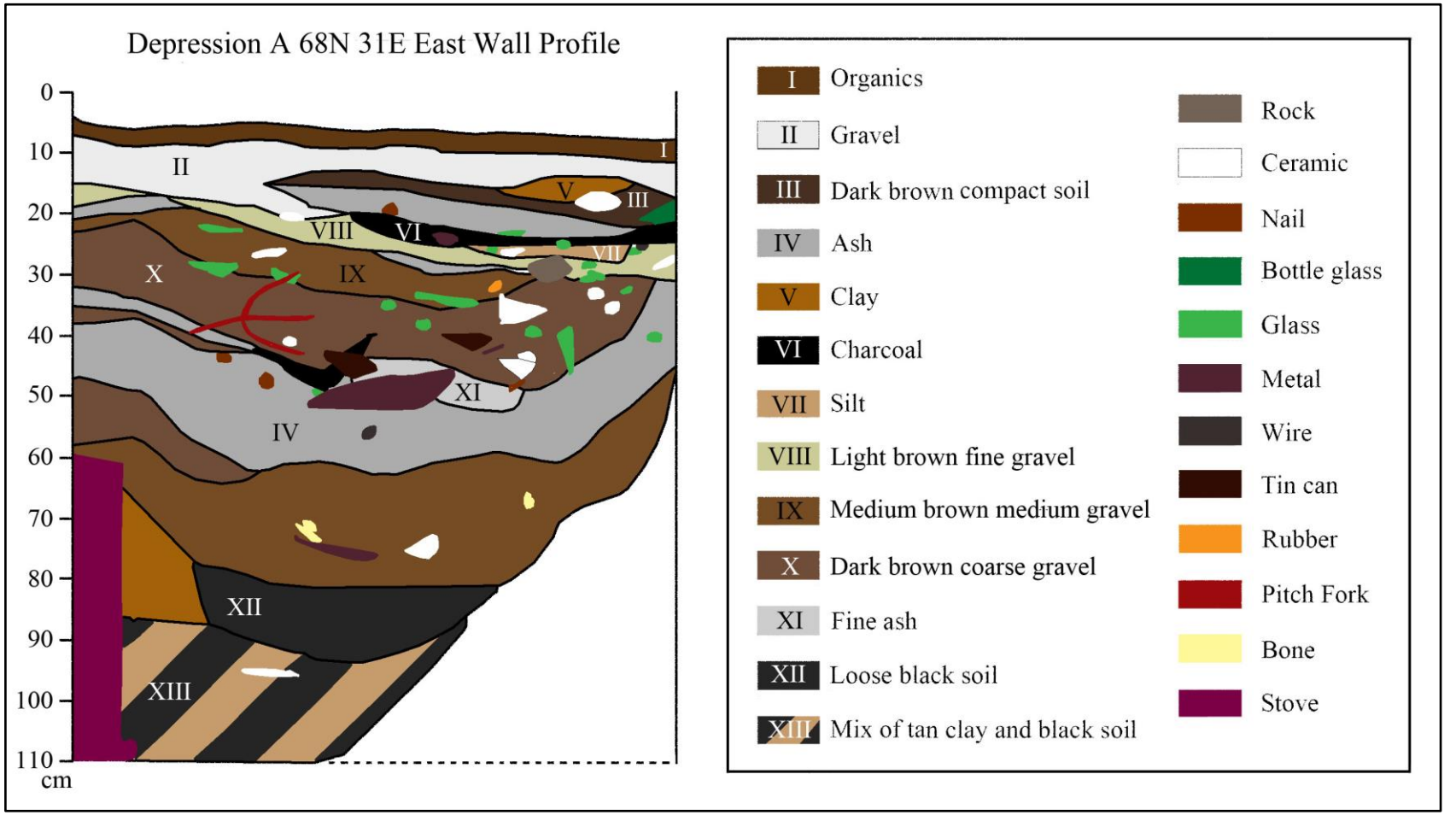


Figure A.2: Stratigraphic profile of the east wall of Depression A 68N 31E (Adapted from Kennedy 2007).

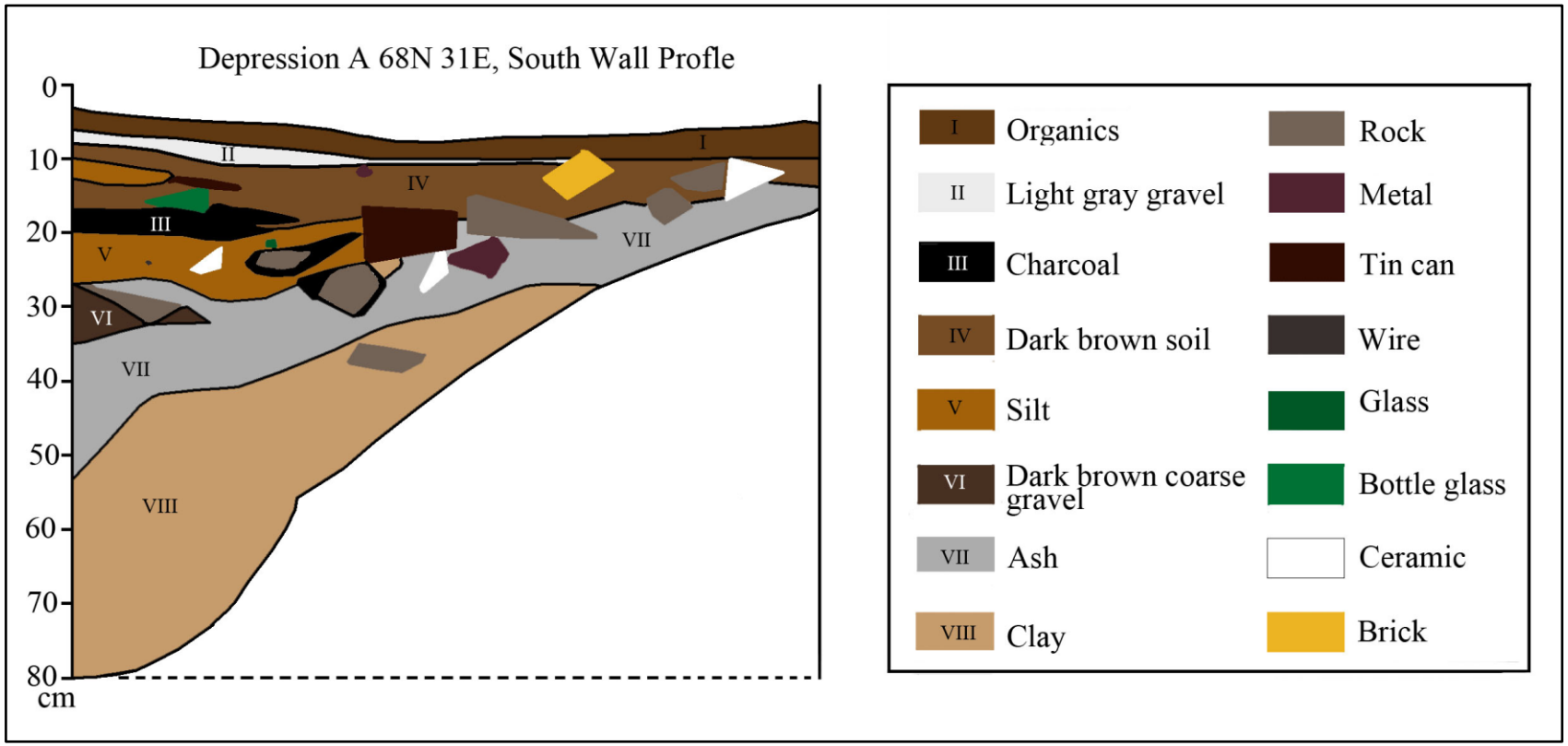


Figure A.3: Stratigraphic profile of the south wall of Depression A 68N 31E (Adapted from Kennedy 2007).

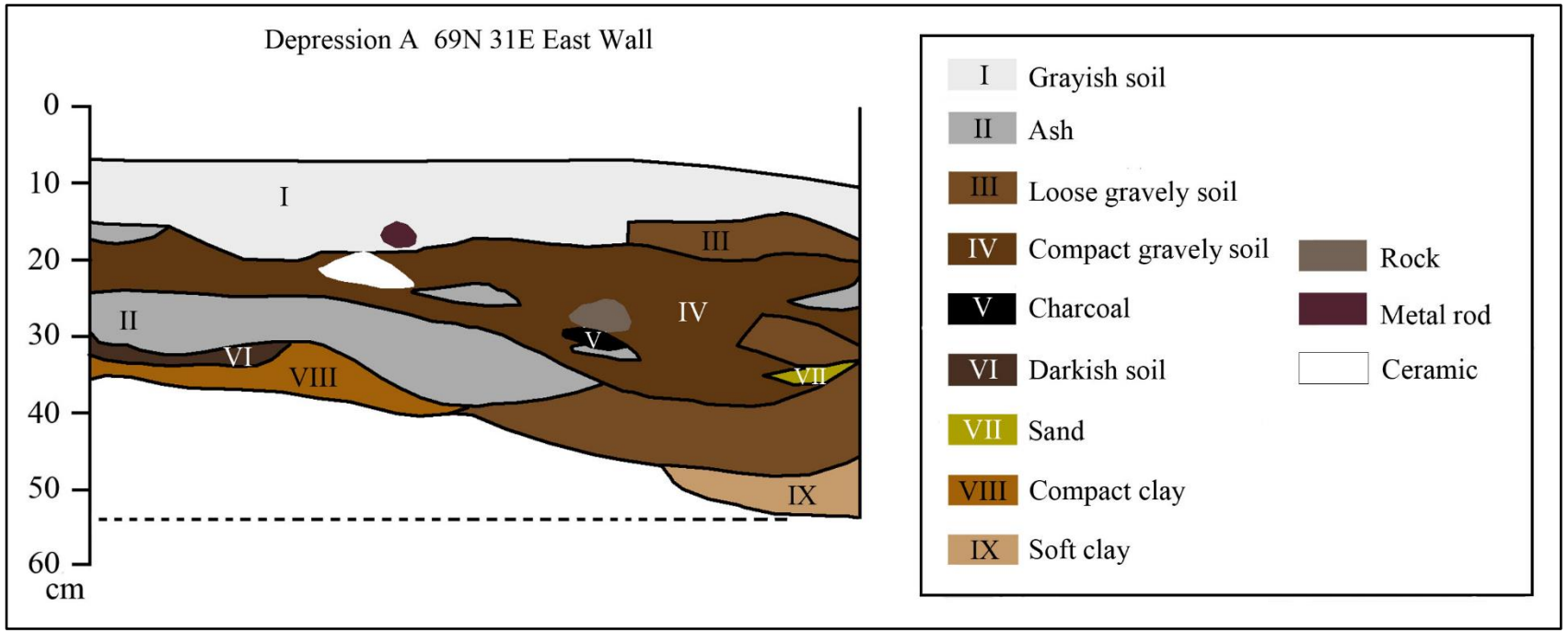


Figure A.4: Stratigraphic profile of the east wall of Depression A 69N 31E (Adapted from Kennedy 2007).

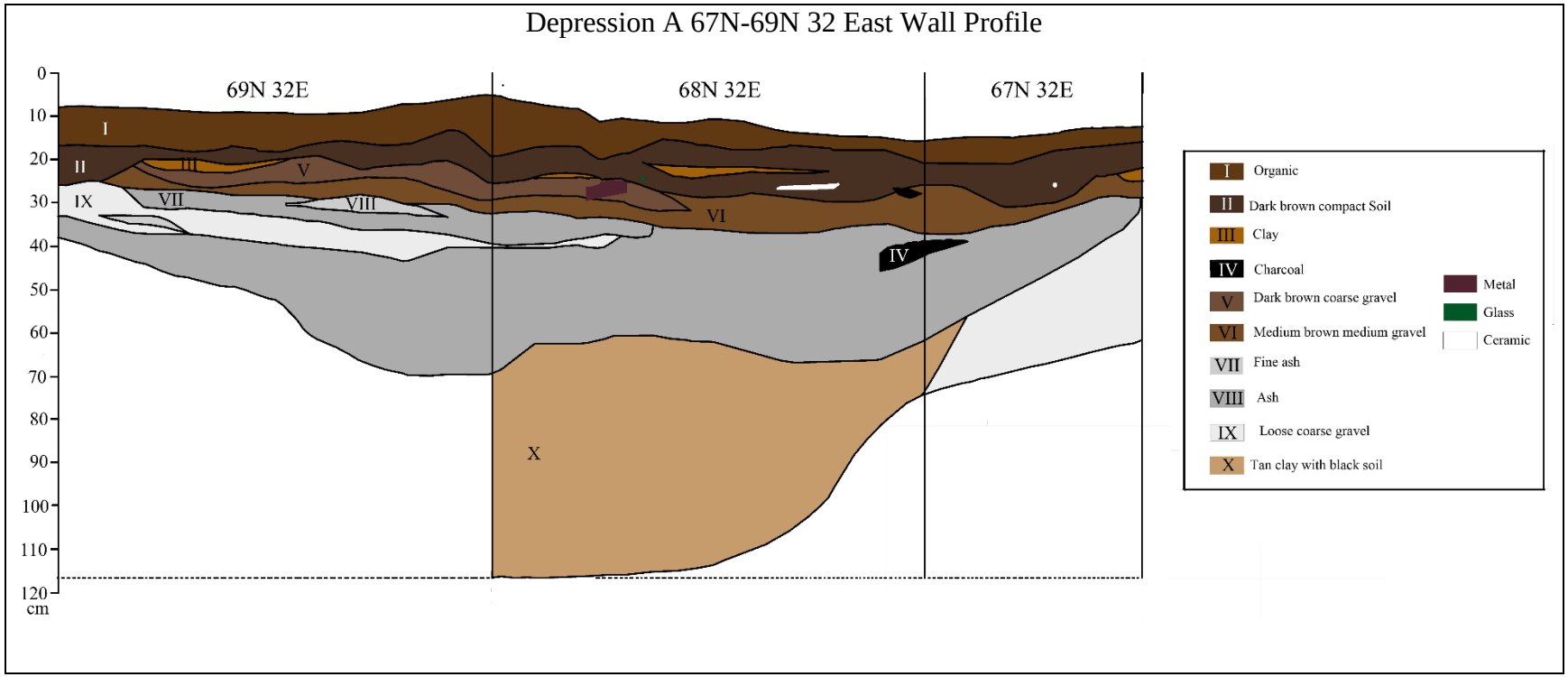


Figure A.5: Stratigraphic profile of the east wall of Depression A 67N 32E, 68N 32E, and 69N 32E (Adapted from Kennedy 2007).

Appendix B

Feature Artifacts in Functional Categories

The artifacts from every feature, other than Depression A, are broken down into Functional Categories in this appendix. This appendix complements Table 4.2 which portrays the Functional groups and quantities found in Depression A. The features in this appendix are as follows: Depression B-Table B.1 (Section 4.3.2), Depression C-Table B.2 (Section 4.3.3), Depression D-Table B.3 (Section 4.3.4), Foundation 2-Table B.4 (Section 4.3.5), and Foundation 3-Table B.5 (Section 4.3.6).

Table B.1: The Functional Category Breakdown of Artifacts from Depression B

Activity Group	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing		0.00%	
	Footwear		0.00%	
	Adornment		0.00%	
	Accoutrement		0.00%	0.00%
Health and Hygiene	Medication		0.00%	
	Toiletries		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	
	Household furniture		0.00%	
	Household hardware		0.00%	
	Lighting		0.00%	
	Heating		0.00%	
	Electrical		0.00%	0.00%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry		0.00%	
	Sewing and repair		0.00%	0.00%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware	1	3.33%	
	Serving ware		0.00%	
	Multiple use food storage		0.00%	
	Single use food storage	1	3.33%	
	Food production		0.00%	
	Subsistence		0.00%	6.67%
Social and Recreational	Toys		0.00%	
	Games		0.00%	
	Music		0.00%	
	Smoking		0.00%	
	Alcohol consumption		0.00%	0.00%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications		0.00%	
	Writing		0.00%	0.00%
Architectural	Construction hardware	8	26.67%	
	Door hardware		0.00%	
	Window hardware		0.00%	26.67%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack		3.33%	
	Fencing	1	0.00%	
	Farm implement	1	3.33%	
	Farm machinery		0.00%	6.67%
Defence and Hunting	Arms		0.00%	
	Ammunition		0.00%	0.00%
Transportation	Mechanized		0.00%	
	Cycling		0.00%	0.00%
Unaltered	Faunal	11	36.67%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Shell		0.00%	36.67%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic		0.00%	
	Closure		0.00%	
	Foil		3.33%	
	Glass		0.00%	
	Glass bottle	1	0.00%	
	Glass container		0.00%	
	Leather		0.00%	
	Leather and metal		0.00%	
	Metal	3	10.00%	
	Metal and rubber		0.00%	
	Metal container	2	6.67%	
	Metal fastener	1	3.33%	
	Paper		0.00%	
	Paint		0.00%	
	Plastic		0.00%	
	Rubber		0.00%	
	Textile		0.00%	23.33%
Total		30	100.00%	100.00%

Table B.2: The Functional Groups Breakdown of Artifacts from Depression C

Activity Group	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing		0.00%	
	Footwear		0.00%	
	Adornment		0.00%	
	Accoutrement		0.00%	0.00%
Health and Hygiene	Medication		0.00%	
	Toiletries		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
	Household furniture		0.00%	
	Household hardware		0.00%	
	Lighting		0.00%	
	Heating		0.00%	
	Electrical		0.00%	0.00%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry		0.00%	
	Sewing and repair		0.00%	0.00%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware		0.00%	
	Serving ware		0.00%	
	Multiple use food storage		0.00%	
	Single use food storage		0.00%	
	Food production		0.00%	
	Subsistence		0.00%	6.67%
Social and Recreational	Toys		0.00%	
	Games		0.00%	
	Music		0.00%	
	Smoking		0.00%	
	Alcohol consumption		0.00%	0.00%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications		0.00%	
	Writing		0.00%	0.00%
Architectural	Construction hardware		0.00%	
	Door hardware		0.00%	
	Window hardware		0.00%	0.00%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack		0.00%	
	Fencing		0.00%	
	Farm implement		0.00%	
	Farm machinery		0.00%	0.00%
Defence and Hunting	Arms		0.00%	
	Ammunition		0.00%	0.00%
Transportation	Mechanized		0.00%	
	Cycling		0.00%	0.00%
Unaltered	Faunal		0.00%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Shell		0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic		0.00%	
	Closure		0.00%	
	Foil		0.00%	
	Glass		0.00%	
	Glass bottle		0.00%	
	Glass container		0.00%	
	Leather		0.00%	
	Leather and metal	1	100.00%	
	Metal		0.00%	
	Metal and rubber		0.00%	
	Metal container		0.00%	
	Metal fastener		0.00%	
	Metal & leather		0.00%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Paper		0.00%	
	Plastic		0.00%	
	Rubber		0.00%	
	Textile		0.00%	100.00%
Total		1	100.00%	100.00%

Table B.3: The Functional Groups Breakdown of Artifacts from Depression D

Activity Group	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing		0.00%	
	Footwear		0.00%	
	Adornment		0.00%	
	Accoutrement		0.00%	0.00%
Health and Hygiene	Medication		0.00%	
	Toiletries		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	
	Household furniture		0.00%	
	Household hardware		0.00%	
	Lighting	5	8.62%	
	Heating		0.00%	
	Electrical		0.00%	8.62%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry		0.00%	
	Sewing and repair		0.00%	0.00%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware	4	6.90%	
	Serving ware		0.00%	
	Multiple use food storage	2	3.45%	
	Single use food storage	2	3.45%	
	Food production		0.00%	
	Subsistence	1	1.72%	15.52%
Social and Recreational	Toys		0.00%	
	Games		0.00%	
	Music		0.00%	
	Smoking		0.00%	
	Alcohol consumption		0.00%	0.00%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications		0.00%	
	Writing		0.00%	0.00%
Architectural	Construction hardware	15	25.86%	
	Door hardware		0.00%	
	Window hardware	17	29.31%	55.17%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack		3.33%	
	Fencing		0.00%	
	Farm implement		3.33%	
	Farm machinery		0.00%	6.67%
Defence and Hunting	Arms		0.00%	
	Ammunition		0.00%	0.00%
Transportation	Mechanized		0.00%	
	Cycling		0.00%	0.00%
Unaltered	Faunal		0.00%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Shell		0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic	1	1.72%	
	Closure		0.00%	
	Foil		0.00%	
	Glass	5	8.62%	
	Glass bottle	2	3.45%	
	Glass container		0.00%	
	Leather		0.00%	
	Leather and metal		0.00%	
	Metal		0.00%	
	Metal and rubber		0.00%	
	Metal container	1	1.72%	
	Metal fastener		0.00%	
	Paper		0.00%	
	Paint		0.00%	
	Plastic		0.00%	
	Rubber	3	5.18%	
	Textile		0.00%	20.69
Total		58	100.00%	100.00%

Table B.4: The Functional Groups Breakdown of Artifacts from Foundation 2

Activity Group	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing		0.00%	
	Footwear	1	0.91%	
	Adornment		0.00%	
	Accoutrement		0.00%	0.91%
Health and Hygiene	Medication	1	0.91%	
	Toiletries		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.91%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	
	Household furniture		0.00%	
	Household hardware		0.00%	
	Lighting		0.00%	
	Heating		0.00%	
	Electrical		0.00%	0.00%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry		0.00%	
	Sewing and repair		0.00%	0.00%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware	14	12.73%	
	Serving ware		0.00%	
	Multiple use food storage		0.00%	
	Single use food storage		0.00%	
	Food production		0.00%	
	Subsistence		0.00%	12.73%
Social and Recreational	Toys		0.00%	
	Games		0.00%	
	Music		0.00%	
	Smoking		0.00%	
	Alcohol consumption	6	5.45%	5.45%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications		0.00%	
	Writing		0.00%	0.00%
Architectural	Construction hardware	20	18.18%	
	Door hardware		0.00%	
	Window hardware		0.00%	18.18%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack	1	0.91%	
	Fencing	1	0.91%	
	Farm implement	2	1.82%	
	Farm machinery	2	1.82%	5.45%
Defence and Hunting	Arms		0.00%	
	Ammunition	1	0.91%	0.91%
Transportation	Mechanized		0.00%	
	Cycling		0.00%	0.00%
Unaltered	Faunal	4	3.64%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Shell		0.00%	3.64%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic		0.00%	
	Closure		0.00%	
	Foil		0.00%	
	Glass	23	20.91%	
	Glass bottle	18	16.36%	
	Glass container		0.00%	
	Leather		0.00%	
	Leather and metal		0.90%	
	Metal	13	11.82%	
	Metal and rubber		0.00%	
	Metal container		0.00%	
	Metal fastener	1	0.91%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Paper		0.00%	
	Plastic		0.00%	
	Rubber	2	1.82%	
	Textile		0.00%	51.82%
Total		110	100.00%	100.00%

Table B.5: The Functional Groups Breakdown of Artifacts from Foundation 3

Activity Category	Functional Subgroup	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Subgroup in Assemblage	Percentage of Functional Group in Assemblage
Personal	Clothing		0.00%	
	Footwear		0.00%	
	Adornment		0.00%	
	Accoutrement		0.00%	0.00%
Health and Hygiene	Medication		0.00%	
	Toiletries		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
Household Furnishings	Household decoration		0.00%	
	Grooming		0.00%	0.00%
	Household furniture		0.00%	
	Household hardware		0.00%	
	Lighting		0.00%	
	Heating		0.00%	
	Electrical		0.00%	0.00%
Household Production and Maintenance	Laundry		0.00%	
	Sewing and repair		0.00%	0.00%
Food Preparation and Consumption	Tableware		0.00%	
	Serving ware		0.00%	
	Multiple use food storage		0.00%	
	Single use food storage		0.00%	
	Food production		0.00%	
	Subsistence		0.00%	0.00%
Social and Recreational	Toys		0.00%	
	Games		0.00%	
	Music		0.00%	
	Smoking		0.00%	
	Alcohol consumption		0.00%	0.00%
Education and Communication	Telecommunications		0.00%	
	Writing		0.00%	0.00%
Architectural	Construction hardware		0.00%	
	Door hardware		0.00%	
	Window hardware		0.00%	0.00%
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Animal care and tack		0.00%	
	Fencing		0.00%	
	Farm implement		0.00%	
	Farm machinery		0.00%	0.00%
Defence and Hunting	Arms		0.00%	
	Ammunition		0.00%	0.00%
Transportation	Mechanized		0.00%	
	Cycling		0.00%	0.00%
Unaltered	Faunal		0.00%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Shell		0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable	Ceramic		0.00%	
	Closure		0.00%	
	Foil		0.00%	
	Glass		0.00%	
	Glass bottle	1	100.00%	
	Glass container		0.00%	
	Leather		0.00%	
	Leather and metal		0.00%	
	Metal		0.00%	
	Metal & rubber		0.00%	
	Metal container		0.00%	
	Metal fastener		0.00%	
	Organic		0.00%	
	Paper		0.00%	
	Plastic		0.00%	
	Rubber		0.00%	
	Textile		0.00%	100.00%
Total		1	100.00%	100.00%

Appendix C
Ceramic Patterns

The contents of Appendix C provides a complete description of all the FbNn-14 Ceramic Patterns in the *Food Preparation and Consumption* category. This is an aid to the discussion of the ceramic patterns in the main text of the thesis especially Chapter 5. Table C.1 holds the pattern's letter description which is how the pattern is discussed in the main body of the thesis. The quantity of vessels with the pattern will be stated in terms of both ceramic type and the shape of vessels. The pattern also identifies one of the four themes of patterns which are: Band and Geometric, Flower and Leaf, Landscape or Unidentified. A detailed description of the pattern is supplied in addition to a picture to clarify the motifs and colours seen in the pattern. If a manufacture, country of origin, or date for the ceramic pattern is known it is supplied as well.

Table C.1: Complete Description of all FbNn-14 Ceramic Patterns

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
A	37	Porcelain cups (4), flatware (6), hollowware (2), mugs (1), saucers (14); Vitrified White Earthenware cup (1), flatware (3), hollowware (1), plates (5)	Band and Geometric	Thin gold gilding just below the rim and half way down the vessel		Japan - Post 1921 for some of them
B	26	White earthenware bowls (23), hollowware (3)	Band and Geometric	Large blue band with smaller blue bands around it		W. Adams & Company, England - Post 1891 for some of them
C	6	Stoneware crocks (5), unidentified (1)	Band and Geometric	Medium blue band with dark blue directly band below; letters are black if present		

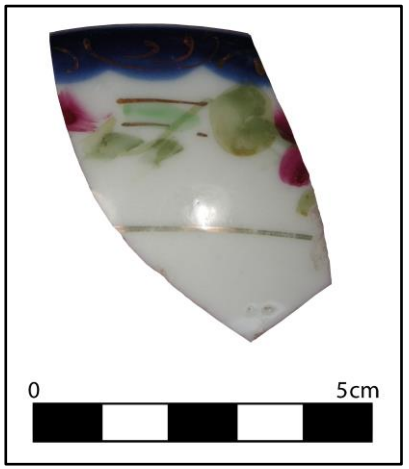
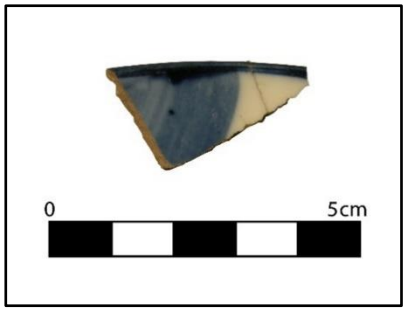
Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
D	5	Vitrified white earthenware saucers	Band and Geometric	Thin gold line just inside the rim; thick gold band that is surrounded by two thin black lines; below is a thin gold line		
E	4	Stoneware jars (2) Unidentified (2)	Band and Geometric	Brown painted on the interior and to the shoulder on the exterior		
F	4	Vitrified white earthenware bowls	Flower and Leaf	Two sets of two thin green bands around red stick motif alternating with light green dots		Swinnerton Ltd.?, England? - Post 1946

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
G	2	Yellowware bowl (1), dish (1)	Band and Geometric	Moulded ribbing		
H	2	Stoneware crock	Band and Geometric	Blue band at the shoulder		
I	1	Stoneware crock	Band and Geometric	Moulded zigzag pattern in a V-shape above the base		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
J	1	White earthenware dish	Band and Geometric	Moulded doily pattern on the brim; thin line of gilding half way down the inside of the dish		Arthur J. Wilkinson, England ca.19301964
K	1	Ironstone saucer	Band and Geometric	Scalloped rim, green line just inside the rim		
L	20	Porcelain bowls (2), cups (2), mugs (5), plates (2), saucers (4), teacups (5)	Flower and Leaf	Gilding is present just inside the rim and on handle if they are present; transferprinted four blue flowers with grass		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
M	12	White earthenware saucers	Flower and Leaf	Brown band lined by black which is on both sides of a gold corn like pattern, on top of the corn pattern are flowers; below all of this is a wheat and flower banner		
N	8	White earthenware saucers	Flower and Leaf	Silver line above and below the brown band geometric diamond pattern that is outlined in black; below is a flower and grain pattern in a band and connected thorough a silver line		
O	7	Vitrified white earthenware plates	Flower and Leaf	Light blue band which is above a dark blue band that is in a wave shape, out of this blue band comes buds that hold a looping flower vine		J. H. Weatherby & sons, England - Post 1892

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
P	6	Porcelain cup (1), teacups (2); White earthenware cup (1), flatware (1), teacup (1)	Flower and Leaf	Gilding just below rim on handle if one is present on the piece; partway down the vessel is a building line on which is a gold three leaf tea bud		
Q	5	Ironstone plates	Flower and Leaf	Squared off rim, moulded flowers on a banner below which is ribbed to the end of the rim		J. & G. Meakin (Ltd), England - Post 1900
R	2	Ironstone plate	Flower and Leaf	Moulded vine and leave pattern just inside the rim		

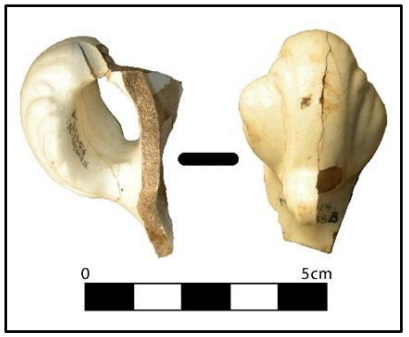
Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
S	2	Porcelain cups	Flower and Leaf	Rounded dark blue band below the rim on which gold guided wisps are placed; below are pink roses with leaves below which is another gold guided band		
T	2	Vitrified white earthenware flatware	Flower and Leaf	Blue flowers with green oval petals		
U	2	Vitrified white earthenware plates	Flower and Leaf	Lily and pumpkin boarder; around a stylized bird in front of vine-like plants		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
V	2	Porcelain platter	Flower and Leaf	Flower shaped; top of rim has gold gilding; on the rim are gold whips which are in-between red dots; the connection between the rim and the bottom of the platter consists of a red boarder with white dots on it; bottom is filled with pink roses with leaves connected by dots or whips of gold gilding; rim wisps and base long curves; pink roses with petals, dots		
W	1	Stoneware crock	Flower and Leaf	Blue ‘2’ above a blue leaf		
X	1	Porcelain teacup	Flower and Leaf	Moulded relief rose which is painted pink and white; green leaves are outlined in gold gilding and thick gold sparkles		

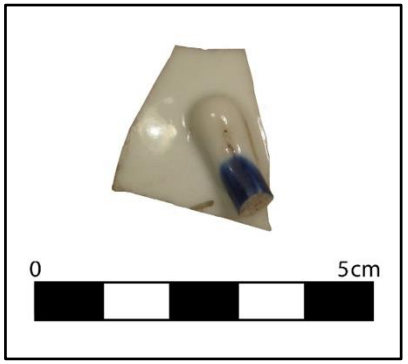
Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
Y	1	Vitrified white earthenware hollowware	Flower and Leaf	Red flower with red flower and a green leaf		
Z	1	White earthenware flatware	Flower and Leaf	Pink line, followed by a pink line banner; next is a vine with pink yellow flowers on it, and a gold vine lined with pink		
AA	1	Vitrified white earthenware bowl	Flower and Leaf	Pink line just below the rim; pink flower with yellow centre, blue leaves with long oval green leaves		

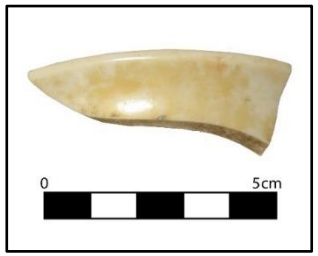
Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
BB	1	Porcelain creamer	Flower and Leaf	Scalloped rim, bottom, and handle; moulded gothic panels and infill flowers in-between them at the bottom, in each gothic panel are: four flowers that consists of two purple, a pink, and a red flower, gilding is present on the rim, handle, bottom of the gothic panels, and doily patterns in-between the gothic panels at the top of the vessel		Germany - Post 1885
CC	1	Porcelain saucer	Flower and Leaf	Scalloped rim; dark blue colour that fades to a lighter blue along the edge of the rim; below this are two pink flowers with a steam and leaves; gilding is present inside the rim and around the central indentation		
DD	1	Porcelain cup	Flower and Leaf	Moulded leaf design creates rough panels on the shape; transferprinted bouquet of purple and white flowers with leaves are present		

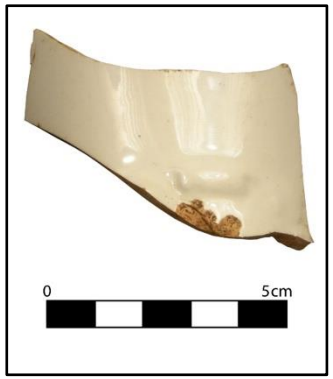
Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
EE	1	Porcelain cup	Flower and Leaf	Moulded leaf on which is gilding to highlight the moulding and make smaller branches; large green leaves are hand painted		
FF	1	White earthenware bowl	Flower and Leaf	Below the rim is a blue line; below which is moulded band made of darts; after there is a blue flower pattern that is dragged in a circle shape		
GG	1	Vitrified white earthenware teacup	Flower and Leaf	Moulded rose that is painted pink and brown		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
HH	1	White earthenware hollowware	Flower and Leaf	Red flowers		
II	1	White earthenware hollowware	Flower and Leaf	Moulded decorative leaf as a handle		
JJ	1	White earthenware flatware	Flower and Leaf	Tea leaf pattern - red three leaf flower attached to others		Alfred Meakin Ltd., England - Post 1891

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
KK	10	Porcelain cup (1), saucers (9)	Landscape	At the top are three Chinese lanterns; below and to the right is a hut with a woman in a kimono by it; to the left of this is a beach; in front of this is a house with woman in a kimono holding an umbrella; in the foreground, there is a fence with flowers surround it; the pattern details are outlined in red and many colours as in aqua, green, red, yellow, and blue are dapped on haphazardly to give the ceramic a huge variety of colour		
LL	4	White earthenware flatware (3), plate (1)	Unidentified	Green and gray - outdoor scene(?)		
MM	3	White earthenware unidentified	Unidentified	Blue on one side		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
NN	2	White earthenware cup (1), unidentified (1)	Unidentified	Yellow flower (?)		
OO	1	Porcelain cup	Unidentified	Blue on the handle; two lines of gilding are also present; one line on the handle is parallel to it while the other line perpendicular to the handle		
PP	1	Ironstone plate	Unidentified	Unclear circle shape		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
QQ	1	Porcelain hollowware	Unidentified	Sponged yellow		
RR	1	Vitrified white earthenware flatware	Unidentified	Green leaf(?)		
SS	1	Vitrified white earthenware cup	Unidentified	Moulded undulating area at the top with a curve and a finger like shape; gilding is present around the moulding; blue on one side of the moulding		
TT	1	Porcelain cup	Unidentified	Moulded line off which are gilded and wisps		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
UU	1	White earthenware flatware	Unidentified	Black laurel leaf band that has tan on one side of it		
VV	1	White earthenware hollowware	Unidentified	Small moulded ledge		
WW	1	Porcelain hollowware	Unidentified	Moulded ledge		

Pattern Name	Quantity	Ceramic Description	Pattern Type	Decoration Description	Picture	Maker and Date
XX	1	Porcelain unidentifiable	Unidentified	Hint of colouring		
YY	1	White earthenware flatware	Unidentified	Blue squares and diamonds; with shading; building (?)		
ZZ	1	White earthenware flatware	Unidentified	Blue bird with blue background		
Total	202					

Appendix D
Glass Dates

This appendix consists of the complete list of dates for all the glass artifacts in the thesis. A shorter version of this table, D.1, appears in Table 6.2 in Chapter 6.

Table D.1 Complete Glass Artifact Dates

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
				Mineral	Applied	Aqua	Bottle glass	1830-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Brandy	Turn mold, applied	Amber	Beer bottle	1860s-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018b; 2018e
				Prescription	Applied	Amber	Bottle glass	1880-1895	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons			Chicago, IL, USA			Purple	Medicine bottle	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Odell 2008
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons	Mountain Blood Flower Vitalizer					Purple	Medicine bottle	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Odell 2008
						Purple	Bottle glass	1880s-1920	15	3.38%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	10	2.25%	Lindsay 2018a
				Flared?		Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018e
						Purple	Jar	1880s-1920	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Unidentified	1880s-1920	41	9.23%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Bowl	1880s-1920	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a
						Purple	Container glass	1880s-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; Lindsay 2018d
				Flared	Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018d; 2018f
				Wide prescription	Bottling machine	Purple	Bottle glass	1905-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018d; 2018e

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
						Grey & purple	Bottle glass	1915-1920	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey & purple	Container glass	1915-1920	7	1.58%	Lindsay 2018a
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Purple	Container glass	1915-1920	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
Mrs. Winslow's	Soothing Syrup	Owen's Bottle	USA			Aqua	Medicine bottle	1919-1920	1	0.23%	Bottle Research Group 2016a; Lockhart et al. 2010:56-57
Dr. S. N. Thomas	Eclectric Oil					Colourless	Medicine bottle	1919-1920	1	0.23%	Sullivan 1984:15,18
					Turn mold	Green	Bottle glass	1860s-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018c
					Turn mold	Colourless	Chimney lamp glass	1860s-1925	4	0.90%	Lindsay 2018c
					Turn mold	Amber	Unidentified	1860s-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018c
				Champagne	Turn mold, tooled	Green	Wine bottle	1885-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018b; 2018d; 2018f
				Patent	Turn mold, tooled	Colourless	Bottle glass	1885-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018d; 2018f
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada			Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
				Large mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Grey	Fruit jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
					Bottling machine	Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
					Bottling machine	Grey	Container glass	1915-1925	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
						Green & grey	Container glass	1915-1925	6	1.35%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey	Container glass	1915-1925	16	3.60%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey	Jar	1915-1925	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a
						Grey	Unidentified	1915-1925	12	2.70%	Lindsay 2018h
		Dominion Glass	Canada			Colourless	Bottle glass	1913-1928	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146
	Imperial jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada?			Colourless	Jar	1913-1928?	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:153-4
				Flared		Colourless	Container glass	1825-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f
				Bead?		Colourless	Container glass	1800-1920s	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018d
				Bead		Amber	Beer bottle	1880-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018e
			Ontario	Patent	Tooled	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1885-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Patent	Tooled	Colourless	Bottle glass	1885-1920s	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Patent	Tooled	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1885-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
			SK, Canada	Brandy	Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Brandy	Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
				Bead	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Bead	Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Prescription	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1920s	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Prescription	Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Reinforced extract	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1920s	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Mineral	Bottling machine	Green	Wine bottle	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
					Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
Waterman's	Ink	Consumer glass	Canada	Collared	Bottling machine	Colourless	Ink Bottle	1917-1920s	1	0.23%	Davis and Lehrer 2011:96; Lindsay 2018f
J. R. Watkins		Consumer glass	Canada	Bead		Colourless	Bottle glass	1917-1920s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f; Lockhart 2014; J. R. Watkins 2014
						Aqua	Bottle glass	1800s-1930s	34	7.66%	Lindsay 2018a
						Aqua	Jar	1800s-1930s	9	2.03%	Lindsay 2018a
						Aqua	Container glass	1800s-1930s	22	4.95%	Lindsay 2018a
						Aqua	Unidentified	1800s-1930s	59	13.29%	Lindsay 2018a
						Aqua	Bottle glass	1889-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; W. T. Rawleigh 2017
						Aqua	Medicine bottle	1889-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; W. T. Rawleigh 2017

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
				Small mouth continuous external thread		Colourless	Bottle glass	1890s-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f
				Crown		Aqua	Bottle glass	1892-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
		Pierce Glass	USA			Aqua	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	1	0.23%	Bottle Research Group 2016b; Lindsay 2018a
				Club sauce	Bottling machine	Amber	Beer bottle	1905-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018g
				Collared	Bottling machine	Amber	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018f
				Collared	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018f
				Patent	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
				Small mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018f
					Bottling machine	Aqua	Bottle glass	1905-1930s	6	1.35%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018c
					Bottling machine	Aqua	Container glass	1905-1930s	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Aqua	Unidentified	1905-1930s	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018h
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada?			Aqua	Jar	1913-1930s?	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada	Large mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Aqua	Jar	1915-1930s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161; Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Aqua	Container glass	1915-1930s	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Aqua	Jar	1915-1930s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Aqua	Jar	1915-1930s	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
		Dominion Glass	Canada		Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1940s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146, 148
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons		Dominion Glass?	Canada?		Bottling machine	Colourless	Medicine bottle	1905-1950?	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018h
						Milk	Ointment Pot	1915-1950	3	0.68%	Laurel Leaf Farm 2017; Lindsay 2018a; 2018f
		Dominion Glass?	Canada?		Bottling machine	Amber	Beer bottle	1928-1950s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146, 148
		Dominion Glass	Canada		Bottling machine	Amber	Beer bottle	1928-1950s	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146, 148

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
W. F. Young	Absorbine	Consumer glass	Canada			Colourless	Medicine bottle	1917-1962	1	0.23%	Lockhart 2014:473; W. F. Young 2018
		Consumer glass			Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1917-1962	1	0.23%	Lockhart 2014:473
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass	Canada		Bottling machine	Colourless	Fruit jar	1913-1960s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada		Bottling machine	Colourless	Jar	1913-1960s	3	0.68%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada?		Bottling machine	Colourless	Jar	1913-1960s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
	Gem jar?	Dominion Glass?	Canada?			Colourless	Jar	1913-1960s	5	1.13%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:161
		Dominion Glass	Canada			Amber	Beer bottle	1928-1970s	1	0.23%	Lockhart, Schiever, and Lindsay 2015:146
		Hazel-Atlas	USA			Colourless	Bottle glass	1923-1980	1	0.23%	Lockhart et al. 2016:84
J. R. Watkins			USA			Amber	Bottle glass	1868-	1	0.23%	J. R. Watkins 2014
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons			Winnipeg, MN, Canada			Colourless	Medicine bottle	1869-	2	0.45%	Odell 2008
Dr. Peter Fahrney			Chicago, IL, USA			Colourless	Medicine bottle	1869-	1	0.23%	Odell 2008
Lydia Pinkhams	Vegetable Compound					Colourless	Medicine bottle	1875-	2	0.45%	Encyclopaedia Britannica 2008

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
						Colourless	Bottle glass	1889-	1	0.23%	W. T. Rawleigh 2017
				Crown		Amber	Beer bottle	1892-	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018f
				Crown		Amber	Bottle glass	1892-	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018f
				Crown?		Amber	Bottle glass	1892-	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018f
				Crown?		Colourless	Bottle glass	1892-	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018f
				Crown	Bottling machine	Amber	Beer bottle	1905-	5	1.13%	Lindsay 2018f; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Amber	Beer bottle	1905-	11	2.48%	Lindsay 2018c; 2018h
					Bottling machine	Amber	Bottle glass	1905-	9	2.03%	Lindsay 2018c; 2018h
				Crown	Bottling machine	Amber	Bottle glass	1905-	2	0.45%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018e
					Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-	9	2.03%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018h
				Small mouth lug exterior thread	Bottling machine	Colourless	Bottle glass	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018d; 2018f
					Bottling machine	Green	Bottle glass	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018c
					Bottling machine	Colourless	Chimney lamp glass	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018h
					Bottling machine	Amber	Container glass	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018h
					Bottling machine	Colourless	Container glass	1905-	7	1.58%	Lindsay 2018c; 2018h
					Bottling machine?	Amber	Jar	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018h
					Bottling machine	Amber	Unidentified	1905-	4	0.90%	Lindsay 2018h

Company	Product	Bottle Maker	From	Finish	Mode of Manufacture	Colour	Artifact Type	Date	Quantity	Percentage	Reference
					Bottling machine?	Colourless	Unidentified	1905-	7	1.58%	Lindsay 2018h
					Bottling machine	Green	Wine bottle	1905-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018h
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Colourless	Jar	1915-	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread	Bottling machine	Colourless	Jar	1915-	3	0.68%	Lindsay 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Green	Jar	1915-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f
				Large mouth continuous external thread		Colourless	Fruit jar	1915-	1	0.23%	Lindsay 2018f
Rigo						Colourless	Medicine bottle		1	0.23%	
		??				Colourless	Bottle glass		1	0.23%	
			Canada			Colourless	Jar		9	2.03%	
			Canada?			Colourless	Jar		4	0.90%	
Average/ Total									444	100.00%	